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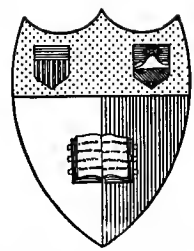

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British Museum

Bible Exhibition 1911

Guide to the Manuscripts and Printed Books

Exhibited in

Celebration of the Tercentenary

of the

Authorized Version

With Eight Plates

Printed by Order of the Trustees

1911

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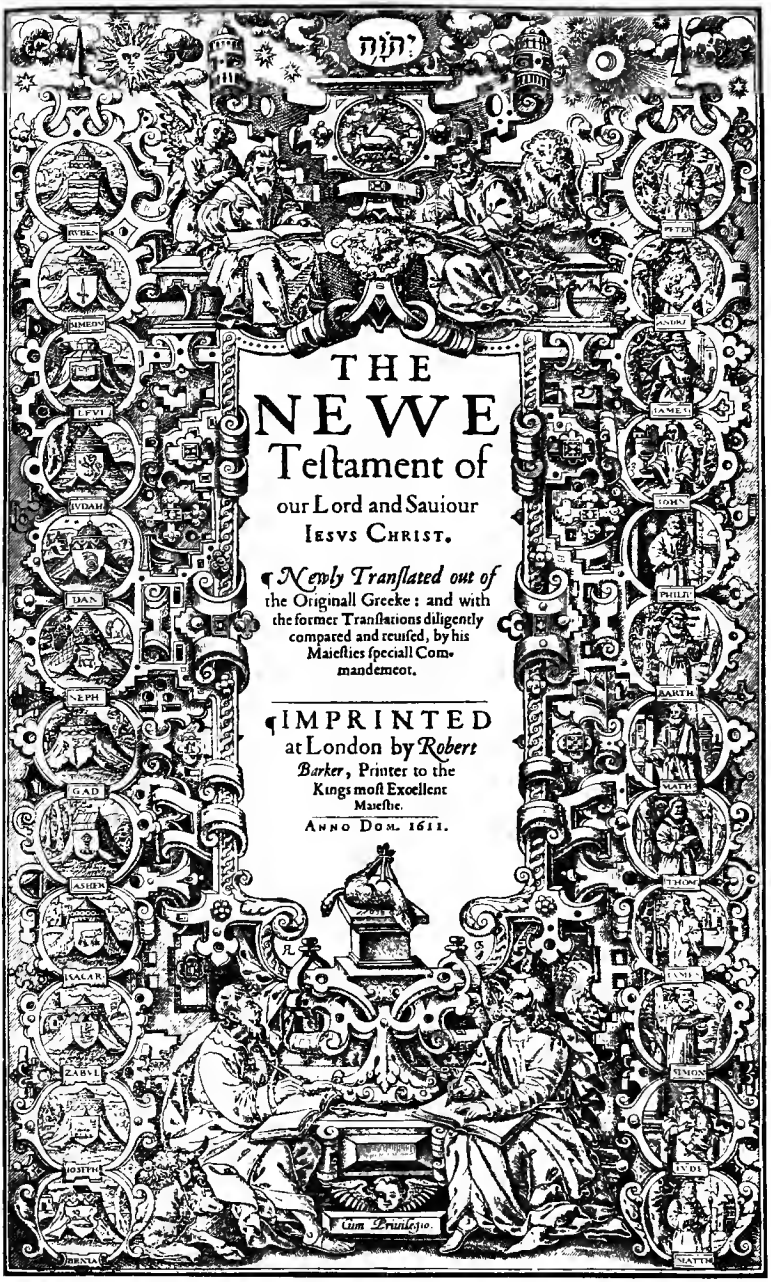

71. THE AUTHORIZED VERSION, 1611.

Front.

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INTRODUCTION

THE publication in 1611 of the Authorized Version marked an epoch, in the proper sense of that term, in the history of the English Bible. It was a point at which one period ended and another began. It ended a long series of attempts to produce a satisfactory translation of the Scriptures into English. It began a period of supremacy, unassailed after the first thirty years of its existence, and unquestioned for two hundred years thereafter, for the translation which then saw the light. It gave to the English nation, and eventually to all the English-speaking peoples throughout the world, a version of the Scriptures as faithful and accurate as the scholarship of the day admitted, and expressed in prose so stately and splendid as to make it one of the great classics of the English tongue. For the English language, for English literature, for English religion, and, through English, for the religion of many peoples, nations, and languages in all the earth, the publication of 1611 was in the fullest sense epoch-making.

The roots of the English Bible lie far back in the history of the nation; but its development was a long and slow process. The Bible of Western Europe, at the time when England was converted to Christianity, was Latin, the so-called 'Vulgate', due in the main to St. Jerome, though embodying much of the work of earlier translators, and modified not a little since his time. This Bible was used alike by the Celtic monks who carried Christianity from Ireland to Iona, and from Iona to Northumbria, and by the Roman monks who accompanied Augustine to Kent. Monuments of this stage in the history of the Bible in England may be seen in the magnificent Lindisfarne Gospels (no. 11 in the present exhibition) written at the end of the seventh century in Northumbria; in another Northumbrian book closely related to it, of the eighth century (no. 13); and in various copies, at Oxford and elsewhere, which claim to have been brought to Canterbury by Augustine, and which at any rate belonged to the southern Church at a very early period.

At this stage there was no need for a Bible in English. The new converts probably could not read, and the vernacular instruction given to them was no doubt oral. The earliest demands for anything in the way of translation took the form either of paraphrases of the Bible story, or versions of special passages, or of word-for-word translations written between the lines of Latin Bibles, to assist readers imperfectly acquainted with Latin, or who needed help in interpreting the Latin to Anglo-Saxon hearers. Of all these forms of translation examples are known, either by tradition or in specimens still extant. The earliest of all is the poem of Cædmon, now extant only in a manuscript of the end of the tenth century at Oxford. Cædmon, according to the picturesque story of Bede, was a cowherd at Whitby in the third quarter of the seventh century. Being unable to sing, he used to leave the table at feast times when he saw the harp passed towards him. But one evening, when he had thus retired to the stable, One appeared to him in a dream and said, 'Cædmon, sing something for Me.' And he answered, 'I cannot sing, and for that reason I left the feast and came hither.' But He said, 'Yet thou canst sing somewhat for Me.' And he: 'What should I sing?' 'Sing the beginning of created things.' And forthwith he began to sing to the glory of the Creator a song of which this is the tenor: 'Now ought we to praise the Author of the heavenly kingdom', &c. How much of the poem now extant really goes back to the age of Cædmon, it is impossible to say; but there is no reason to doubt that it represents the earliest attempt to tell the Bible story in the English tongue.

Early in the eighth century (A.D. 735) comes the story of the translation of the Gospel of St. John, completed by the Venerable Bede with his last breath; but of this no part is extant. To the ninth century belongs a word-for-word translation of the Psalter, written between the lines of a Latin manuscript in this Museum (Cotton MS. Vespasian A. i), probably at Canterbury; and from this version are descended several other interlinear translations now extant in MSS. written between this date and the twelfth century. At the end of the century stands a name of real importance in the religious, as in the literary, education of the country, that of Alfred the Great. Of the translation of the Psalms which he is said to have made, no portion is known to exist; though a MS. at Paris contains a version of Psalms 1–50 which may belong to this date and has been conjecturally assigned to him. But to his code of laws he prefixed a translation of the Decalogue and the letter of the Council of Jerusalem, together with a summary of the

Mosaic law; and these are still extant. In the tenth century comes a verse translation of Psalms 51–150, contained in the Paris MS. above mentioned, and the word-for-word version of the Gospels inserted between the lines of the Lindisfarne Gospels (no. 11 in the present exhibition). This, which is repeated in the Rushworth MS. at Oxford, is the earliest form in which the Gospels are now extant in the English language.

It will have been observed that the translations hitherto mentioned have been confined almost wholly to the Psalms and the Gospels. Early in the eleventh century another step forward was taken. Ælfric the Grammarian, first a monk at Winchester, then abbot of Cerne in Dorset, and finally abbot of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, observing that the English 'had not the evangelical doctrines among their writings, those books excepted which King Alfred wisely turned from Latin into English', set himself, at the request of Æthelweard, son of Æthelmær (ealdorman of Devon and founder of Eynsham), to remedy this defect by the composition of a paraphrase of the Old Testament narrative. This paraphrase covered the whole of the narrative portions from Genesis to Judges, and, in addition, Ælfric wrote epitomes of the Books of Kings and of Job, and homilies containing summaries of Esther, Judith, and Maccabees. One of the two extant manuscripts of the Heptateuch, with quaint illustrations, is included in the present exhibition (no. 20).

To the same date as Ælfric's paraphrase belongs the first independent version of the Gospels in English. The author of it is unknown, but it appears to have been produced in Wessex early in the eleventh century. Six copies of it have survived, with a portion of a seventh; and one, which belonged to the great monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury (now Canterbury Cathedral), and subsequently to Archbishop Cranmer, is here exhibited (no. 21).

At the time of the Norman Conquest, then, the Gospels and the Psalms had been translated into English, and the Old Testament narrative was likewise accessible in the language of the people; but there is no reason to suppose that such books had any wide circulation. The language of the Church was still Latin, and such works of theology as were either written or read were for the most part Latin too; but the contemporary historians give but a poor picture of the intellectual and religious condition of the country in the last generations of the Saxo-Danish kingdom. The Conquest checked the use of the English language for literary purposes altogether. Such translations as were needed were French, not English. Specimens of the illustrated Apocalypses, written

in Norman-French and illuminated with quaint and wonderful designs, may be seen in the Grenville Room of this Museum; and, in addition, Norman-French translations of the greater part of the Bible were produced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the part of the conquered English, the only sign of activity is the poem of the *Ormulum*, written about the end of the twelfth century, and containing metrical paraphrases of the Gospels and Acts.

In the course of the thirteenth century there was a great growth of interest in the Scriptures, both in France and in England; but it was manifested mainly in the multiplication of copies in Latin (see nos. 17, 18). It was not until the fourteenth century that any corresponding development in the demand for vernacular Bibles is noticeable; and until near the end of that century the demand was satisfied by versions of single books, especially (as always) the Psalms. The Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole, which belongs to the first half of the century, enjoyed great popularity (no. 22). It contained the Psalms in Latin, accompanied, verse by verse, by an English translation and commentary. The author lived as a hermit at Hampole, near Doncaster, and his translation was originally made in the northern dialect; but in many of the extant copies it appears in southern dialects, showing that it had spread throughout the kingdom, and had been modified in the process. The commentary itself was rewritten in the fifteenth century from a Lollard point of view, and in this shape it continued to circulate long after the invention of printing.

Another version of the Psalms, in which the Latin and English again alternate, verse by verse, was produced about the same time in the Midlands (no. 23); but as it is only known in two copies, its popularity evidently bore no comparison with that of Rolle's work. It has been attributed to one William of Shoreham, but without adequate reason; and the dialect is said not to suit Kent, where William was vicar at Chart Sutton. Besides the Psalter, the Apocalypse also appeared in English in the course of this century, having been translated from the Norman-French Apocalypse mentioned above; and this version circulated somewhat widely. A life of Christ, extracted from the Gospels for Sundays and holy days, is known from a single manuscript at Cambridge. A more extensive and original attempt appears in another group of MSS. This consisted originally of the Pauline Epistles and the four larger Catholic Epistles, to which were subsequently added the minor Catholic Epistles, the Acts, and Matthew i–vi. 8. This version, which represents the first attempt to produce the Epistles in an English dress, was made at the

request of a monk and a nun by their superior; and that it belongs to a time of religious controversy is shown by the fact that the author says that he wrote it at the risk of his life. The earliest extant MS. (at Cambridge) was written about the year 1400, and the version, though not due to Wyclif himself, must belong to the time of the Wyclifite agitation.

The life and work of John Wyclif (1320–1384) was the subject of a previous exhibition in the British Museum, on the occasion of the celebration of the quingentenary of the Reformer's death, which was also, within a year or two, the quingentenary of the first complete English Bible. His life can only be briefly summarized here. Born in Yorkshire, he was sent to Balliol College at Oxford, where he became Fellow and eventually (between 1356 and 1360) Master. This post he resigned in 1361, when he was presented to the living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire; but in 1365 he was appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall, an institution subsequently absorbed into Christ Church, to one of the quadrangles of which it has given its name. Wyclif's connexion with Oxford was of considerable importance in his subsequent career. In 1366, being then a royal chaplain, he produced a treatise in support of the refusal of Parliament to pay the tribute demanded by Pope Urban V; and again in 1374 he represented his country in a controversy with Rome, being sent to Bruges as one of the commissioners to negotiate with the Pope's representatives on the subject of papal nominations to English benefices.

Wyclif (who in 1368 had been transferred from Fillingham to Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, and thence in 1374 by royal presentation to Lutterworth in Leicestershire) had already been prominent in attempts to reform abuses in the Church, and had been brought into association with John of Gaunt, the enemy of the Church. This led to an attempt by the clergy in 1377 to strike at Gaunt through him, and he was summoned to appear before Convocation; but the result (which is vividly described in a MS. exhibited among the Chronicles of England in the Manuscript Saloon) was nothing but a riot in St. Paul's. This was followed up by an attack on him for heresy, set on foot by the Pope, at the instigation probably of the Bishop of London; but this again failed of any real effect, through the support which Wyclif received from the University of Oxford and the populace of London. It is true that when he proceeded so far as to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation (in 1381), the University condemned him; but it took no other step against him, and his supporters at Oxford were always numerous and influential.

His translation of the Bible arose from his desire to appeal to the

people against the clergy. By his institution of Poor Priests he endeavoured to evangelize the people, and to rouse their indignation against current evils; by his translation he desired to put into their hands the most powerful weapon against ecclesiastical abuses, a knowledge of the true Scriptures. The details of the translation are not known. He was assisted by Nicholas Hereford, who translated the Old Testament as far as Baruch iii. 20, and possibly by others. The New Testament has been assigned to Wyclif's own hand, but there is no definite proof of it. The New Testament was completed first, about 1380; the Old Testament between 1382, when Hereford was summoned to London and excommunicated in the middle of his work, and 1384, when Wyclif died; and thus the first English Bible was given to the world.

Of this, the first Wyclifite Bible, about thirty copies are still known to exist. One, a handsome copy which formerly belonged to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II (beheaded in 1397), is included in the present exhibition (no. 24). The rank of its owner, and the beauty of its execution, show that Wyclif's venture did not lack powerful support. The heads of the Church were unwilling to sanction the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, especially, no doubt, when the version was due to a declared enemy; but the activity of their hostility varied greatly from time to time, and did not by any means meet with universal sympathy. Wyclif had at any rate been successful so far, that he had implanted in the heart of a considerable section of the English people a desire to have the Bible in the English tongue; and his exertions bore fruit which has never ceased from that day to this.

The success of Wyclif's Bible was proved by the fact that a new edition was called for almost immediately. Naturally enough, there were defects in the first edition which admitted of rectification; and, in particular, the stilted and pedantic style of Nicholas of Hereford needed extensive revision. The second edition was the work of one of Wyclif's disciples, who has been identified, on somewhat slight evidence, with John Purvey. The translation is markedly more smooth and intelligible than in the previous version, and, indeed, is as good as could reasonably be expected of the scholarship of the day. A long prologue was prefixed to it, which shows conclusively the theological views of its author; indeed, complaint is expressly made in one passage of the unjust slander and persecution of the Lollards. It was not only among Lollards, however, that the translation circulated. Apart from the prologue, which was naturally often omitted (just as the Translators' Preface to

the Authorized Version is generally omitted), there was nothing to identify the translation with one party more than another; and hence copies are known to have been in the possession of religious houses without (apparently) any suspicion of heresy attaching to them. The persecution of Lollards was, in fact, intermittent, and depended largely on the prepossessions of individual prelates. When persecution was on foot, however, the possession of Wyclifite Bibles was frequently a count against the victims. The depositions of the witnesses against persons charged with heresy frequently mention in proof their possession of vernacular copies of the Scriptures; and in one well-known case, that of the condemnation of Richard Hun in 1514, the charges against the prisoner are based on extracts taken verbatim from the prologue to Purvey's version. Still, through periods of persecution and toleration, the Wyclifite Bible continued to subsist, and was the only English version (so far as any trustworthy evidence goes) in use in the country until the advent of the printed Bible. Over 140 copies of Purvey's revised version have come down to us, and the very appearance of some of them proves that they were intended for private use. Many of them are small pocket copies of single books or groups of books, which can only have been used in this way (see nos. 26, 27); others were once the property of religious houses, and even of sovereigns. Copies are in fact still extant which formerly belonged to Henry VI, Henry VII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth (see no. 25).

The first book printed in Europe was the Latin Bible [1], which appeared in or before 1456. At this time England was in the throes of the Wars of the Roses, and the times were unfavourable to literature and Biblical learning. The first English book was printed by Caxton at Bruges about 1475; and two years later the first book printed in England appeared from the press which he had then established at Westminster. But not for fifty years was the new invention employed in the service of the English Bible (though the main substance of the narrative of both Testaments was included in Caxton's *Golden Legend* in 1483). The heads of the Church were hostile to it, and it was not until the antagonism to Rome had gained strength and volume that a scholar was

[1] A copy of this Bible, issued at the date named from the press of Gutenberg, may be seen in the King's Library in this Museum. It is commonly known as the Mazarin Bible, from the fact that the copy in the Mazarin library was the first to attract general attention.

found courageous enough to undertake the task of a new translation, and of its circulation by means of the printing press. That scholar was **William Tyndale.**

The lives of Tyndale and his successors are summarized below, in the introductions to the several sections of the Catalogue. Here it is only necessary to indicate the fortunes of their translations, as leading up to the event which this exhibition commemorates, the Authorized Version of 1611. Tyndale came to London in 1523 with the fixed intention of translating the Scriptures; but finding, as he has left it on record, 'not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England,' he migrated to Hamburg, and thence, the translation of the New Testament being complete, he carried it to Cologne to be printed by Peter Quentell. How his work was interrupted through the zealous hostility of John Cochlaeus, and how he was obliged to flee with the sheets of his incomplete work to Worms, is described below. At Worms the work was set up again in octavo, without notes; but the quarto Cologne sheets, with marginal notes, were also finished, or, as some think, a similar edition printed *de novo*, and both editions were put into circulation in England early in 1526.

The reception given to Tyndale's New Testament may be illustrated by the following story. A merchant named Packington approached the bishop of London, Tunstall, and offered to buy up copies for him to destroy. The story is thus told by the chronicler, Hall: 'The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had the Devil by the fist, said, "Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross." Packington came to William Tyndale and said, "William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself, and I have now gotten thee a merchant which, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself." "Who is the merchant?" said Tyndale. "The Bishop of London," said Packington. "Oh, that is because he will burn them," said Tyndale. "Yea, marry," said Packington. "I am the gladder," said Tyndale, "for these two benefits shall come thereof: I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world shall cry out against the burning of God's Word; and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me shall make me more studious to

correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first." And so forward went the bargain, the Bishop had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money.'

The hostility of Tunstall and his colleagues is not so inexplicable as perhaps it appears at first sight. In the first place, the translation was notoriously the work of a member of the party opposed to the supremacy of Rome; and this was further made clear by the fact that a large part of the marginal notes were directly translated from Luther's German Bible. But, further, an element of novelty, which was naturally regarded as erroneous, if not heretical, was introduced by the fact that Tyndale made his translation directly from the original Greek, and not from the familiar Latin Vulgate; and in so doing he took pains to avoid the old ecclesiastical terms, such as 'church' and 'priest', and to substitute 'congregation', 'senior', and the like.

The bishops therefore (among whom must be reckoned even Erasmus's friend, the moderate and gentle Warham) had some excuse for their hostility, though none in the character of the translation itself. Not only in scholarship but in literary ability it was far in advance of anything of the kind that had been done before. By making his translation from the Greek, Tyndale for the first time put the English Bible in direct connexion with the original language of the New Testament; and the literary quality of his work is shown by the fact that so much of it was incorporated into the Authorized Version. The reader of the Wyclifite Bible finds its phraseology wholly strange. The reader of Tyndale finds, again and again, that rhythm and language are those familiar to him from infancy.

Of the two original editions of Tyndale's New Testament given to the world in 1526 barely a trace remains. Of the quarto, thirty-one leaves (containing a long prologue and Matt. i. 1 – xxii. 12), which are included in the present exhibition (no. 37); of the octavo, one complete copy, lent to the exhibition by the Baptist College at Bristol (no. 38), and one which is very imperfect. All the rest have perished, together with the editions which are said to have been produced between 1526 and 1530. The persistence of the reformers was not without effect on the rulers of the Church; for in 1530 it was officially announced through Warham that the King would have the New Testament faithfully translated by learned men so soon as he saw a proper disposition in the people to receive it. Meanwhile Tyndale continued his work. In 1530 he published the Pentateuch (no. 39); and here again he struck out a new path by making

his translation from the original Hebrew. In 1531 this was followed by the book of Jonah (no. 40).

In 1534 he issued a revised edition of the New Testament (no. 42), inserting in it a denunciation of an unauthorized revision of the first edition, which had been published by G. Joye (no. 41). An appendix contained 42 short passages from the Old Testament, which were required for liturgical use as 'Epistles'. As will be seen in the Catalogue, a copy of this edition was owned by Anne Boleyn, and, from the fact that it is printed on vellum, it has been supposed that it was a presentation copy, prepared especially for her; from which it appears that Tyndale's work was beginning to make way even in circles very near the throne. Two more editions were published in 1535, containing slight alterations from the text of 1534 (see no. 44); one of them has typographical and orthographical peculiarities probably due to a foreign compositor. This closed Tyndale's published work; for in May, 1535, he was treacherously arrested, and on October 6, 1536, life and labours were alike ended in martyrdom.

The torch which he had lighted, however, was not for a moment allowed to drop. In 1535, after Tyndale's arrest but before his death, an English Bible, gathering up and completing his work, was published by his former assistant, **Miles Coverdale** (no. 47). Though this Bible (the first complete printed English Bible) was never authorized for use in churches, it appeared under highly official auspices. It was patronized by Thomas Cromwell and dedicated to Henry VIII, now no longer zealous for the predominance of Rome; and its second edition (1537) was not only printed by an English printer, but bore upon its title-page the words, 'Set forth with the Kinges moost gracious licence.' Coverdale was not a scholar of the same rank as Tyndale, and had no substantial knowledge of Hebrew or Greek; but he took over Tyndale's published work, with revision by the help of Latin and German versions, and he completed the Old Testament mainly from a German Bible published at Zurich. The Old Testament included the Apocrypha, but secluded these books in a section by themselves, as 'the bokes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the byble, nether are they founde in the Canon of the Hebrue'. In the Greek Septuagint and in the Latin Vulgate as used by the Western Church, these books form an integral part of the Old Testament and are intermingled with the other books of it; but they were excluded from the canon of the Hebrew Bible when that assumed its final form about the beginning of the second century;

they were regarded with disfavour by the greatest Fathers, such as Origen, Athanasius, and Jerome (but not Augustine); and this view was adopted by Luther and the reformers in general, both in Germany and in England. It is not likely that Coverdale realized the importance of his action, but he, in fact, determined that the canon of the English Bible should differ in arrangement from that of the Greek and Roman Churches; and this difference in arrangement has had a result which he can still less have foreseen—the customary (though unauthorized) omission of the disputed books from most copies of the English Bible.

On August 4, 1537, Archbishop Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, sending 'a new translation' of the Bible, of which he approved, and asking him to secure for it the King's licence; and on the 13th he was able to write again, to thank him that he had 'obtained of his grace that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be bought and read within this realm', a boon which, he declares, has given him more pleasure than if he had received a thousand pounds. This Bible is that known as **Matthew's Bible,** which accordingly bears the King's licence on its title-page (no. 50). 'Thomas Matthew', whose name appears there, is believed to be a pseudonym of John Rogers, a friend and comrade of Tyndale, who suffered martyrdom under Queen Mary in 1555. This Bible is even more closely connected with Tyndale than was that of Coverdale. The Pentateuch and New Testament differ little from the Tyndale of 1535. The historical books (Joshua–2 Chronicles) are a new translation, which there is good reason for believing to be due to Tyndale himself, presumably the fruit of his long imprisonment; while the remaining books, including the Apocrypha, are taken from Coverdale.

Matthew's Bible was either found unsatisfactory in itself (perhaps on account of the decidedly Protestant tone of its marginal notes and prologues), or there were those who knew how closely it was associated with the Testament which the King and the bishops had condemned in 1526. Anyhow, two independent revisions of it were undertaken almost immediately, both of which saw the light in 1539. One of these (no. 53), which can be passed over lightly, was the work of **Richard Taverner,** prepared at the instigation of some London printers, and is chiefly noteworthy from the fact that the New Testament was revised from the original Greek. The other was a far more official and important affair. It was due to the request of Cranmer and Cromwell; it was the work of Miles Coverdale; and it produced the first English Bible which was formally authorized for use in churches. This is the Bible known (from its stately size) as the **Great Bible** (no. 54).

Coverdale, though neither so original in character nor so good a scholar as Tyndale, was an adept in the harmonious use of such materials as lay to his hand; and with Tyndale's and his own previous Bibles before him, and with the assistance of Latin and German translations, he produced a version which the taste and scholarship of his time might reasonably regard as satisfactory, and of which the Psalter, having been included in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, has remained in our Prayer Books ever since. He had intended to add a commentary, but the Privy Council wisely refused to sanction this feature, which tended to the accentuation of theological differences; and the first 'authorized version' of the Bible in English thus appeared, like that on which the title was ultimately conferred, without any party badges. In spite of official patronage, its publication was not effected without difficulty. In order to secure the best typography available, the book was sent to Paris, with the leave of the French king, to be printed; but the Inquisition intervened, seized the sheets, and stopped the work. Coverdale, however, with Cromwell's support, recovered some of the sheets, and conveyed presses and printers to London, where the work was completed in the establishment of Grafton and Whitchurch.

In April, 1539, therefore, England received its first 'authorized version', its authorization taking the form of an Injunction issued by Cromwell as Vicar-General, requiring the clergy to provide, at the joint cost of themselves and their parishioners, 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English,' and to 'expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same'. A royal proclamation to the same effect was issued in May, 1541. According to Strype, many of the clergy obeyed this injunction as perfunctorily as they dared; but of the common people 'every one that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose'. Six copies were set up in St. Paul's by Bishop Bonner, who thereafter complained that 'divers wilful and unlearned persons inconsiderately and indiscreetly read the same, especially and chiefly at the time of divine service, yea in the time and declaration of the word of God'. From this time forth the Bible secured a firm hold on the affections of the English people, which has never been relaxed.

A second edition of the Great Bible was called for in April, 1540, and from the fact that a preface was written for it by Cranmer, the Great Bible is sometimes known as 'Cranmer's Bible'. Another name, by which it is referred to in the instructions given to the revisers of 1611,

is 'Whitchurch's Bible'. Neither Cranmer nor Whitchurch had the same right of association with it as Tyndale and Coverdale had with the versions of 1526 and 1535, since neither was concerned in the work of translation; yet Cranmer, as its patron and promoter, and Whitchurch, as the printer of several editions of it, fully deserve the distinction, though they should in justice have shared it with Cromwell and Grafton respectively. Two more editions appeared in 1540, and three in 1541, all showing a certain amount of further revision; and then, the demand having been for the time adequately supplied, the succession of editions and of revisions was stayed.

During the anti-Protestant reaction of 1542 and the following years, proclamations were issued forbidding the use of the versions of Tyndale and Coverdale, and though the Great Bible was not recalled, it must to some extent have been allowed to fall into disuse; for one of the first acts of Edward VI, or his councillors, was to issue an injunction similar to that of Cromwell in 1539, requiring all churches to possess a copy of it. During his brief reign, editions of Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Cranmer's, and even Taverner's Bibles poured freely from the press, to the number of some forty in six and a half years; but on the accession of Mary, destruction naturally took the place of production. 'Coelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt,' however. The Reformers who fled over sea did not abandon the study of the Bible or its translation; and the next version of the Scriptures in English proceeded from that stronghold of Continental Puritanism, Geneva.

The **Geneva Bible,** as it is called[1], was in its first inception the work of William Whittingham, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a connexion by marriage of Calvin. In 1557 he produced a fresh version of the New Testament, made to a considerable extent from the original Greek, though by no means independent of Tyndale (no. 60). In outer form it was remarkable for several new departures. It was a small, handy octavo; it was printed in Roman type; and it embodied the division of the text into numbered verses, which had been first made by R. Stephanus in his Graeco-Latin Bible of 1551. Whittingham's New Testament had no sooner appeared than he was joined in his work by several other scholars, notably Thomas Sampson and Anthony Gilby. In 1559 they

[1] Its more popular name is the 'Breeches Bible', from that word being used (as it is also in the Wyclifite Bible) in the translation of Gen. iii. 7. It was so popular for the greater part of a century that very many copies of it are still in existence; so that it is not the bibliographical rarity which it is often supposed to be.

issued a translation of the Psalter; and in 1560 the complete Bible, in which the New Testament had been considerably revised since 1557. The type and verse-division were the same as in Whittingham's version. The translation was based on the previous translations, revised with the assistance of the best continental scholars, including Calvin and Beza; and it was provided with maps, woodcuts, and copious marginal notes, of decidedly Calvinistic tendency (no. 61).

The Geneva Bible, from its moderate size and price, its skilful and scholarly execution, and its Puritan tone, was well adapted to the needs of the time. For half a century (in spite of the veto imposed by Archbishop Parker on its printing in England, until his death in 1575) it reigned as the Bible of the people; for thirty years more it maintained a losing fight with the Authorized Version: and over 140 editions of it are said to have been issued between 1560 and 1644. In particular, it deserves remembrance as the Bible of the Puritans in the Civil War; yet no edition of it (other than modern reprints) appears to have been printed in England after 1618, and none at all after 1644. In 1576 a revision of the New Testament was undertaken by Laurence Tomson, which is often bound up with the Old Testament of 1560; but otherwise no material alteration was made in it. The only quarter in which it did not find favour was among the anti-Puritan party in the English Church, headed by the queen and the bishops. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, accordingly undertook a fresh revision of the Great Bible, which he apportioned among various revisers, most of them bishops, working separately. The **Bishops' Bible** (no. 62) appeared in 1568; and Convocation in 1571 ordained that a copy should be placed (with Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*) in every cathedral and, so far as could conveniently be done, in every church. Every archbishop and bishop was also required to have a copy in his house, and to place it in the hall or dining-room, so that it might be useful to their servants or to strangers. Notes were attached to the text, but were mainly exegetical in character, not polemical. A second edition (in quarto) was published in 1569, and a third in 1572, but the Bishops' Bible never rivalled the Geneva in popularity. It was commonly issued as a large folio, intended for use in church, and it remained the official Bible for this purpose until 1611.

Only one other translation remains to be mentioned, before coming to the subject of the present commemoration; and this is the only one which is not based on Tyndale. Like the Puritan exiles at Geneva, the Roman Catholic exiles at Douai undertook an English

version of the Scriptures. It was the work of the English College at that town, headed by Gregory Martin, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. The New Testament was published in 1582 at **Rheims** (no. 68), where the College was for a time quartered; the Old Testament, though prepared at the same time, appeared at **Douai** in 1609 (no. 70). The translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, the official Bible of the Roman Church, and was extremely Latin in style; and it was accompanied by notes of a frankly polemical character. Its circulation was small, except in a controversial treatise by William Fulke, who in 1589 printed the New Testament in parallel columns with the Bishops' version of 1572, and dilated on its errors. Some considerable use was, however, made of it by the revisers of 1611, to whose work we now come.

The undertaking of the new revision, which produced what we know as the **Authorized Version,** must stand to the credit of King James I. It was also the only satisfactory outcome of the Hampton Court Conference, which James summoned in 1604 to discuss the differences of the various parties in the Church. Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, having referred to the many mistakes in the existing translations, this point was taken up by the king, who declared himself in favour of a new translation, containing no marginal notes, to be undertaken by the Universities, reviewed by the bishops, and ratified by the royal authority. Not only did the king thus indicate the true lines for such an undertaking, but, when the abortive conference came to an end, he pressed on the execution of this scheme, and took part in the choice of the revisers. On July 22, 1604, he could write that he had appointed four and fifty learned men for the translating of the Bible; but the exact number and names of those who ultimately took part in the work are to some extent doubtful. Six companies were formed, and forty-seven names are on record as having belonged to them in 1604. Two companies met at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge. The Westminster companies undertook Genesis–2 Kings, and Romans–Jude; the Oxford companies, Isaiah–Malachi and the Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse; the Cambridge companies, 1 Chronicles–Ecclesiastes, and the Apocrypha. Their instructions prescribed the Bishops' Bible as their basis, but with liberty to use Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, the Great and the Geneva Bibles, where they were preferable; the retention of the old ecclesiastical words; no marginal notes, except for necessary explanations of Hebrew and Greek words; mutual consultation between companies; and reference to outside scholars in cases of special difficulty. The work was definitely taken in hand in 1607,

and the first stage of it appears to have occupied two years; after which two members from each centre met in London to put the whole into shape for the press, a work which occupied a further nine months. Finally it was seen through the press by Dr. Miles Smith and Bishop Bilson of Winchester, the former of whom contributed the preface 'To the Reader', which contains the best and most authentic account of the spirit and methods of the translators. And so in 1611 (the month is uncertain) the English Bible, which was to have so deep and wide an influence on the nation, was given to the world from the press of R. Barker (no. 71).

The issue of this epoch-making book is involved in curious obscurity. At least two distinct impressions of it were prepared in 1611, similar in type and size, but differing in details of text and containing different errors of the press, which in both are somewhat discreditably frequent. They are known respectively as the 'He' and 'She' Bibles, from a difference in the translation of the last clause of Ruth iii. 15. Different views have been held as to the relative priority of these issues, but it appears fairly certain that the 'He' edition is the earliest, while modern Bibles are based upon the 'She' edition, the greater part of which did not appear until 1613. Its technical right to the title 'Authorized Version' is still more obscure; for though its title-page bears the words 'Appointed to be read in Churches', no record remains of its having received the authorization of Convocation, Parliament, or King. Injunctions for its use have, however, been found in the Visitation Articles of several dioceses during King James's reign.

Its acceptance, however, was not immediate nor universal. Though the editions of King James's version largely outnumber those of the Geneva Bible, yet the latter retained a strong hold on the generation which had been brought up to use it. Even the bishops (notably Andrewes, himself one of the revisers) are found continually quoting from the Geneva Bible in their texts and citations. The superiority of the new version, however, became manifest even within the period of Puritan ascendancy, and the issues of it are overwhelmingly more numerous. The British Museum Catalogue contains 12 issues of the Geneva Bible or parts of it between 1611 and 1644, and 124 of the Authorized; the *Historical Catalogue* of the British and Foreign Bible Society enumerates 15 of the Geneva and 182 of the Authorized. The last edition of the Geneva Bible appeared in 1644, and thenceforth King James's Bible reigned alone until the coming of the Revised Version in 1881–1885.

The Authorized Version, as it appeared in 1611, was divided into two parts, the books of the Apocrypha being included with those of the Old Testament, though forming a group by themselves at the end.[1] The New Testament had a fresh title-page and sheet-numeration. To the whole was prefixed a calendar; also tables of genealogies and a map, these latter being the work of John Speed, who in 1610 obtained a patent for ten years for the exclusive furnishing of them. The editions of 1611 were large folios; but editions in quarto and octavo appeared in 1612, and in 1617 a duodecimo. The bibliographical history of the Authorized Version cannot be followed out here; but examples of some of the more noteworthy editions are included in the exhibition, and are described below.

The work of King James's translators was not the making of a new and independent version of the original Hebrew and Greek, but the revision of an existing translation with the help of all such aids as were accessible to them. Primarily, no doubt, they referred to the original tongues to see if the translation before them was accurate; to the Hebrew for the books of the Old Testament which exist in that language, to the Greek for the books of the Apocrypha and the New Testament. But they also made use of other translations, ancient and modern; the Greek of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, the Syriac, Latin, German, and French; and the commentaries or paraphrases of learned scholars. They did not, however, regard it as part of their duty to make a critical study of the Hebrew and Greek texts before them; nor, in fact, were the materials of such a study in existence. No search had yet been made for the earliest and best manuscripts of the Bible. The scholars of the Reformation were content to take the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts which came to their hands, without much discrimination; and no considerable use had been made by any editor of copies written before the tenth century. None of the great manuscripts of the Greek

[1] The practice of omitting the sheets containing the Apocrypha began very early. Copies of the Geneva Bible which omit them, though naming them in the list of contents, appear with the imprint of 1599, but there is reason to believe that some or all of them are really of later date. In 1615 Archbishop Abbot forbade stationers to issue such copies, on pain of a year's imprisonment; and this injunction must have related to Geneva Bibles. Copies of the Authorized Version which lack them appear from 1629 onwards. In 1640 an edition of the Geneva Bible was issued at Amsterdam which omits them from the list of contents; in 1642 a similar edition of the Authorized Version appeared, also printed at Amsterdam; and in 1643 one printed in London. In 1826 the British and Foreign Bible Society decided never to print or circulate copies containing the Apocrypha.

Bible, which now form the groundwork of all New Testament textual criticism, was known to the scholars of 1611. Consequently the Authorized Version, though admirable in language, is often defective as a representation of the original; and to this, as time went on and the study of textual criticism grew with the multiplication of its materials, was due the demand for a revision, which culminated in the Revised Version of 1881–1885. The Authorized Version cannot dispute with the Revised the palm of accuracy; yet it is entwined with the heart of the nation, with its literature, its traditions, and its affections; and future centenaries may find it, if no longer supreme, yet still regarded with love and devotion as the supreme glory of the English language and the living monument of English religion.

The present exhibition is divided into two sections. The first, placed in the **Manuscript Saloon,** traces (in very summary fashion) the history of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek to the time of the invention of printing. It begins with the earliest Hebrew Bible known (a Pentateuch of the ninth century), and the earliest Greek Bible in this country (the great Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century), together with photographs of the only two Greek Bibles in existence which are of earlier date. Then follow other Greek Bibles, illustrating the various styles of writing employed in such books, and examples of the two great Eastern versions of the Scriptures, in Syriac and Coptic. On the other side of the room we find the great Bible of the Western world, the Latin Vulgate, in which form the Scriptures first reached this country, and from which all translations of them into English before the time of Tyndale were made. Chief among the manuscripts of the Latin Bible stands the magnificent Lindisfarne Gospels, of about A.D. 700, which is not only a splendid specimen of Anglo-Celtic art, but also contains, as a later addition, an interlinear translation of the Gospels into Anglo-Saxon, which is the earliest extant version of the Gospels in English. Other manuscripts illustrate the revision of the Vulgate made for Charlemagne by Alcuin of York, and the outburst of activity in the production of Latin Bibles in France and England in the thirteenth century. These are followed, finally, by a selection of manuscripts illustrating the history of the English Bible itself, from the interlinear gloss, mentioned above, in the Lindisfarne Gospels, to the Wyclifite Bibles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The second section of the exhibition will be found in the **King's Library.** This consists of printed Bibles, beginning with the continental

vernacular versions which preceded Tyndale's first New Testament, and accompanied by documents which record something of the history of the Bible in England. Every edition which has been mentioned in this Introduction is represented there, with many others, each of which has some special interest. Full descriptions of them will be found in the pages which follow. All the exhibits are the property of the British Museum, with the single exception of the copy of the octavo edition of Tyndale's first New Testament, which is kindly lent by the Committee of the Baptist College at Bristol. This alone was needed in order to make the exhibition complete as a record of all the important landmarks in the history of the English Bible up to the publication of the Authorized Version.

The descriptions of the printed Bibles in this Guide are mainly due to Mr. A. W. Pollard, and those of the illustrative documents to Mr. H. I. Bell.

SECTION I

[Exhibited in Cases G and H in the Manuscript Saloon, against the pilasters, beginning on the right of the entrance to the King's Library.]

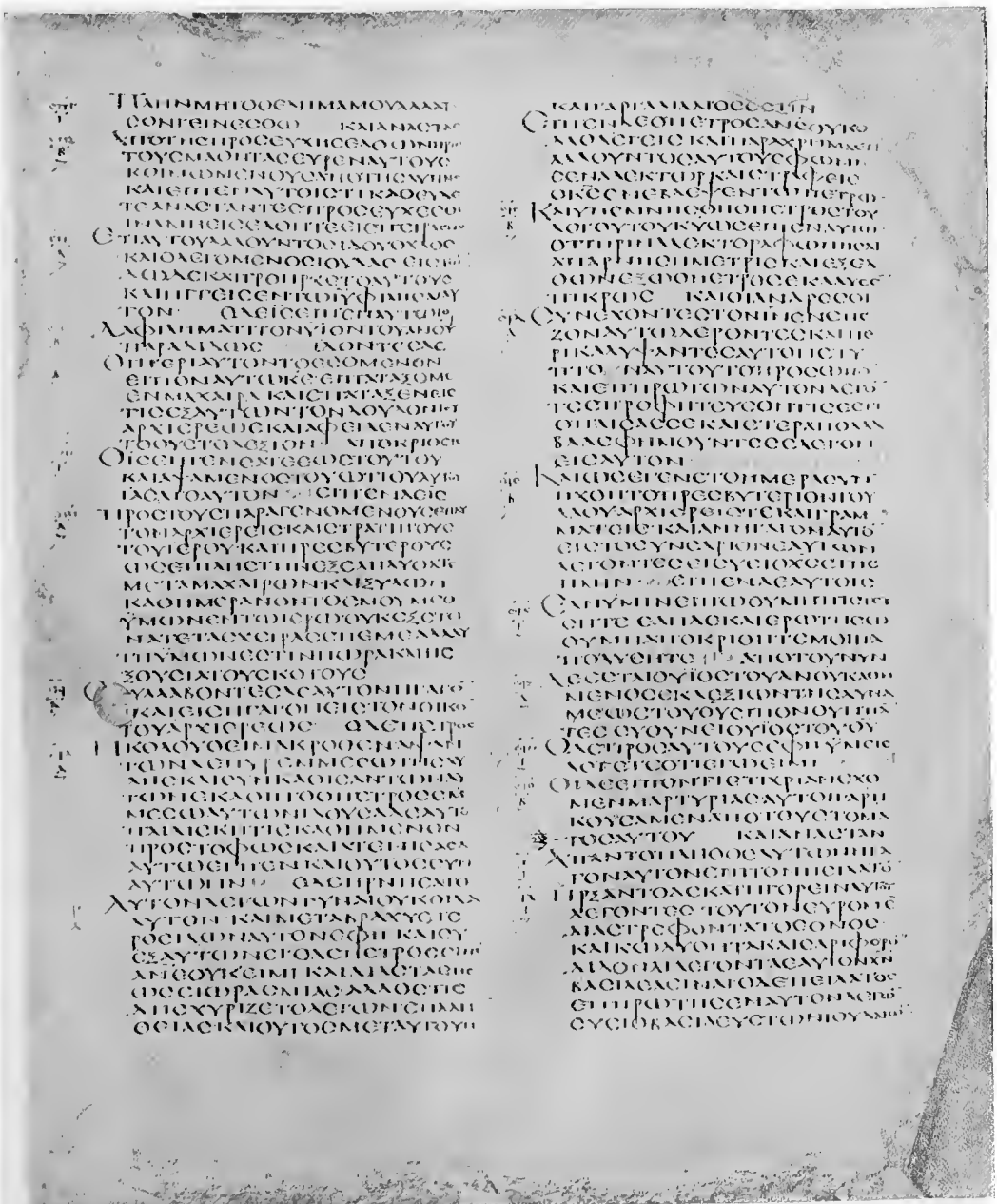
CASE G

1. The Pentateuch, in *Hebrew*; with the Greater Massorah in the upper and lower margins, and the Lesser Massorah at the side. Ninth century; probably the oldest MS. now in existence of any substantial part of the Bible in Hebrew. The text is furnished with vowel-points and accents. Vellum. [*Or. MS.* 4445.]

2. The Bible, in *Greek*: a volume of the celebrated 'CODEX ALEXANDRINUS', written in uncial letters, in double columns, on very thin vellum, probably in the middle of the fifth century. One of the three earliest and most important MSS. of the Holy Scriptures, containing both Old and New Testaments and the Epistles of St. Clement of Rome. It formerly belonged to the Patriarchal Chamber at Alexandria (whence its name), and was presented in 1628 to King Charles I by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, and previously of Alexandria. [*Royal MS.* 1 D. viii.]

With this MS. are exhibited, for the sake of comparison, photographs of the only two MSS. of the Greek Bible (apart from a few small fragments on papyrus) which are older than it, viz. (1) Codex Vaticanus (B), in the Vatican Library at Rome, originally containing the whole Bible, but now wanting most of Genesis, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse; (2) Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ), discovered by Tischendorf at Mount Sinai in 1844, of which some leaves are in the Universitäts-Bibliothek at Leipzig, and the rest (including the whole of the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas) in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. These two MSS. are assigned to the fourth century.

3. The Gospel of St. Luke, in *Greek* (CODEX NITRIENSIS). A *palimpsest* manuscript (one, that is, in which the original writing has been partially washed out, and another work written above it), containing portions of St. Luke's Gospel, with a *Syriac* treatise by Severus of Antioch written above it. The original writing is in large uncials of the sixth century, written in double columns, with enlarged initials projecting into the margin; the Syriac is



2. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.

of the beginning of the ninth century, written in double columns in a direction at right angles to the Greek. The MS. formerly belonged to the Syrian convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 17211.]

4. **The Old Testament,** in *Greek,* of the Septuagint version. The text follows the recension of Lucian, made at Antioch about A.D. 300, which was for some time the standard text at Antioch and Constantinople, but differs in many details from that of the majority of our MSS. and printed editions. Written in a neat minuscule hand of the thirteenth century. Part of the MS. is written with three columns to the page, the rest after the more usual method with two columns. Vellum. [*Royal MS.* 1 D. ii.]

5. **The Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse,** in *Greek.* Written in minuscules by a monk Andreas, of the monastery of the Saviour at Myopolis, who was engaged for three years at the work, and finished it in A.D. 1111. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 28816.]

6. **The Four Gospels,** in *Syriac,* of the earlier version, sometimes known, from the discoverer of this MS., as the 'Curetonian Syriac'. The MS. was acquired (from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt) in 1842, and was the only known MS. of this version until the discovery in 1892 of a palimpsest in the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, which contains the same version in a somewhat different (and earlier) form. Fifth century. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 14451.]

7. **The Pentateuch,** in *Syriac,* of the later version, known as the Peshitto. This version, which was probably the work of Bishop Rabbula at the beginning of the fifth century, became the authorized version of the Syriac Church. The present MS. (which was acquired with the preceding one) was written in A.D. 464, and is one of the earliest extant copies of the Peshitto, and the earliest MS. of the Bible in any language of which the exact date is known. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 14425.]

8. **The Apocalypse,** in *Coptic,* of the Sahidic or Upper Egyptian dialect; imperfect. Written in a small uncial hand, probably in the fifth century, on pages measuring only $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; one of the earliest extant representatives of this version. Vellum. [*Or. MS.* 3518.]

9. The Gospel of St. John, in *Greek* and *Coptic*, of the Middle Egyptian dialect; imperfect. A palimpsest (see no. 3); the Biblical text, which is the earlier, has the Greek and Coptic in parallel columns, written in a large uncial hand, probably in the sixth century. The later writing consists of arithmetical tables and problems. Vellum. [*Or. MS.* 5707.]

10. The Epistles and Acts, in *Coptic*, of the Bohairic or Lower Egyptian dialect, with *Arabic* translation in the margins. Written in 1308, being copied from a manuscript written in 1250. The Bohairic dialect having ultimately superseded all others in Egypt for literary purposes, this version is the only one of which complete copies are commonly found, the others surviving only in fragments, such as the two preceding specimens. Paper. [*Or. MS.* 424.]

[By the side of Case H.]

11. The Lindisfarne Gospels, containing the four Gospels in the *Latin* vulgate version, written about A.D. 690–700, in a fine uncial hand, in honour of St. Cuthbert (died 687), by Eadfrith, his successor in the see of Lindisfarne. Ornamented in the finest style of Anglo-Celtic art. An Anglo-Saxon translation was added between the lines in the tenth century by the priest Aldred. Vellum. [*Cotton MS.* Nero D. iv.]

Above this case are shown photographs of both sides of a leaf of a great Latin Bible, believed to be one of three such Bibles written in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow by order of Abbot Ceolfrid, early in the eighth century. One of these was taken by Ceolfrid to Italy as a present to Pope Gregory II in 716, and is now at Florence, where it is known as the *Codex Amiatinus*, and is the best authority for the text of the Latin Vulgate. The present leaf (of which the original is in the British Museum) is all that is known to be left of the other two Bibles.

CASE H

12. The Gospels, in the *Latin* vulgate version. Written in uncials, perhaps in North Italy, in the sixth or seventh century. Vellum. [*Harley MS.* 1775.]

13. The Gospels, in the *Latin* vulgate version. Written in Northumbria, probably at Lindisfarne, in half-uncials, in the eighth

11. THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS.

century. The text is closely akin to that of the Lindisfarne Gospels (see no. 11), and belongs to the best school of Vulgate MSS. Vellum. [*Royal MS.* 1 B. vii.]

14. The Bible, in the *Latin* vulgate version, as revised (between 796 and 801) by Alcuin of York, then Abbot of Tours; with large miniatures and illuminated initials. Alcuin was invited from England by Charlemagne to superintend the education of his kingdom, and his revision of the Vulgate was undertaken by Charlemagne's orders. The present copy was written at Tours, in the Caroline minuscule introduced during the reign of Charlemagne, about the middle of the ninth century. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 10546.]

15. The Bible, in the *Latin* vulgate version, as revised (about 810) by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans. Written, probably at Orleans, in very small and neat Caroline minuscules, with three columns to the page. Ninth century. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 24142.]

16. The Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, in the *Latin* vulgate version. Written at the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, in Caroline minuscules, under the direction of Hartmut [abbot of St. Gall, 872–883], who has added in his own hand the apocryphal Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 11852.]

17. The Bible, in the *Latin* vulgate version; with illuminated initials. Written, probably at Canterbury or Rochester, by a scribe named William of Devon, in the thirteenth century. It represents a large class of Bibles produced both in England and in France in this century, apparently under the impulse of St. Louis and the University of Paris (where Stephen Langton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, made the modern division of the Bible into chapters). Such MSS. are generally written in very small hands (see no. 18). Vellum. [*Royal MS.* 1 D. i.]

18. The Bible, in the *Latin* vulgate version; with illuminated initials. Written in the thirteenth century. A typical example of the small portable copies of the Scriptures produced during this period in England and France, containing the whole Bible on 471

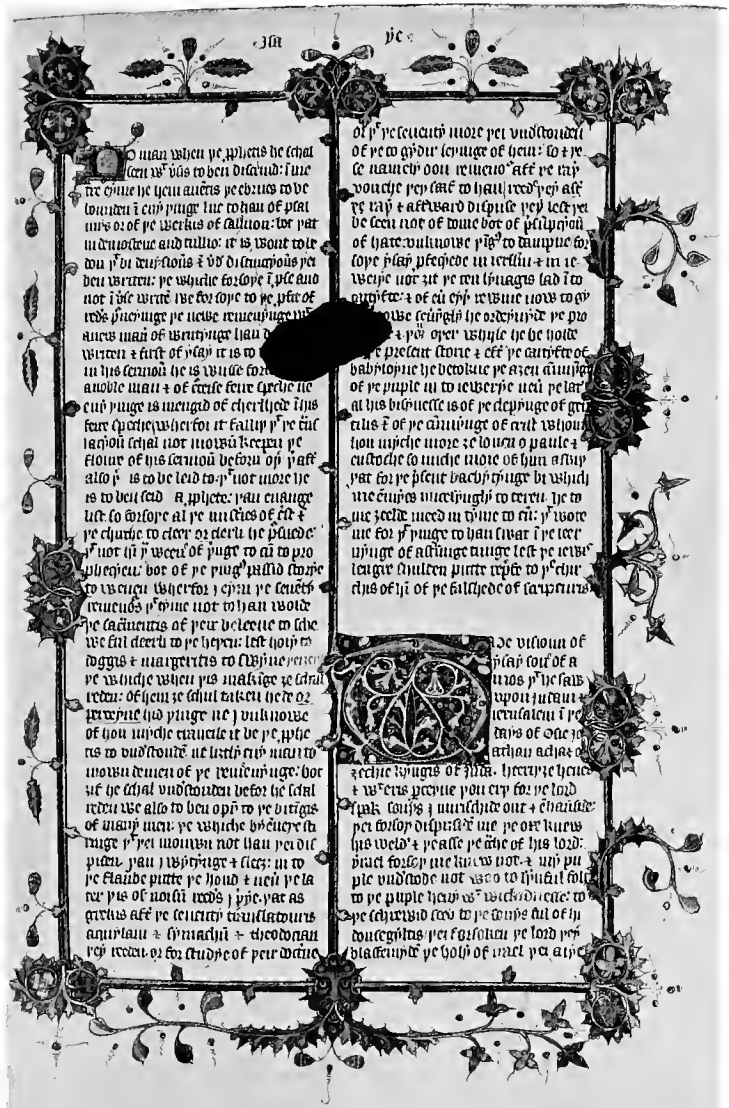
small leaves of thin vellum, in a very minute hand. [*Royal MS.* 1 A. iii.]

19. Psalter, in *Latin*, of St. Jerome's Roman version; followed by Canticles and Hymns, and, in somewhat later hands, by the Canon of the Mass and the Mass of the Holy Trinity. Written, probably at Canterbury, in the latter part of the tenth century, possibly in the lifetime of Archbishop D[redacted]n. An Anglo-Saxon interlinear translation, apparently cont[redacted] with the text, has been inserted in some of the Psalms and [redacted]icles. A Calendar of Christ Church, Canterbury, has been prefixed between 988 and 1012. Known as the Bosworth Psalter. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 37517.]

20. The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, paraphrased in *English* by Ælfric the Grammarian (abbot successively of Cerne and Eynsham); with coloured illustrations. Ælfric's work was produced early in the eleventh century, and was the earliest form in which the Old Testament narrative was made accessible to English readers in their own tongue. The present MS. (one of the two extant copies of the work) was written in the eleventh century. Vellum. [*Cotton MS.* Claudius B. iv.]

21. The Gospels, in *English*, of the Anglo-Saxon or Wessex version, produced early in the eleventh century. This is the earliest English version of the Gospels, apart from interlinear word-for-word translations inserted in Latin MSS. (as in the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Bosworth Psalter), or traditional translations, such as those of Bede or King Alfred, of which no trace has survived. Written early in the twelfth century, and belonged successively to Christ Church, Canterbury, to Archbishop Cranmer, and to John, Lord Lumley. Vellum. [*Royal MS.* 1 A. xiv.]

22. Psalter, in *Latin* and *English*, with English commentary, the translation and commentary being the work of Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, near Doncaster, in the first half of the fourteenth century. The translation and commentary follow the Latin text, verse by verse, the Latin being written in a larger hand, and the translation generally underlined. The work was originally written in the Northumbrian dialect, but was popular all over the kingdom, and in many MSS. (including the present one) the dialect is southern. Vellum. [*Arundel MS.* 158.]



24. WYCLIFITE BIBLE.

23. Psalter and Canticles, in *Latin* and *English*; written probably in the West Midlands, about the middle of the fourteenth century. The same MS. contains the religious poems of William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton, in Kent; but the dialect of the Psalter is not Kentish. The English version follows the Latin, verse by verse. Only one other copy is known. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 17376.]

24. The Bible, in *English*, of the earlier Wyclifite version, prepared about 1380–1382 by Wyclif's adherents, under the direction, and perhaps with the assistance, of Wyclif himself. This version, which was made from the Latin Vulgate, not from the original Hebrew and Greek, was the first complete Bible in the English language. The present copy was written towards the end of the fourteenth century, and belonged to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III, who was put to death by order of Richard II in 1397. With fine illuminated initials and borders in the English style. Vellum. [*Egerton MSS.* 617, 618.]

25. The New Testament, in *English*, of the later Wyclifite version, a revision of the earlier one, made at the end of the fourteenth century, perhaps by John Purvey, one of Wyclif's followers. This copy was written in the fifteenth century. Presented to Queen Elizabeth as a New Year's gift by John Bridges, one of her chaplains. Vellum. [*Royal MS.* 1 A. xii.]

26. The Psalter, in *English*, of the later Wyclifite version, with the Canticles and Athanasian Creed. Fifteenth century. Vellum. [*Add. MS.* 10046.]

27. The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse, in *English*, of the later Wyclifite version. Fifteenth century. This volume and the last are specimens of the small pocket copies of parts of the Bible in English which circulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, before their supersession by the printed Bibles of Tyndale and his successors. Vellum. [*Harley MS.* 5768.]

SECTION II

[Exhibited in Cases in the further half of the King's Library.]

VERNACULAR BIBLES IN OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES PRINTED BEFORE 1520.

Nos. 28–36.

After the Norman Conquest there was very little translation from Latin or French into English prose until the reign of Richard II, and the earliest complete translations of the Bible into English were thus associated with the unorthodox teaching of Wyclif and his followers. Hence the imposition of limitations and restrictions on the making and use of English versions of the Scriptures such as did not exist in other countries. These were still in force not only when printing was introduced into England, but nearly half a century later, when William Tyndale sought in vain for encouragement from the scholarly Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, to translate the Bible in the Bishop's house. Up to this date no single book of the Bible had been printed in English. To illustrate the exceptional nature of the restrictions imposed in England, in this show-case are arranged specimens of the vernacular printed Bibles, Bohemian, Dutch, French, German, and Italian, which were circulating more or less freely during the fifteenth century, or in the sixteenth before the fears of the ecclesiastical authorities had been aroused by Luther's revolt. The popularity of several of these translations is shown by the appearance of illustrated editions of them.

28. The First Printed German Bible. Printed by Johann Mentelin at Strassburg before June 27, 1466.

This Bible gives no information as to where, when, or by whom it was printed, but its types show that it was an early work of the press of Johann Mentelin, the first printer at Strassburg, and a copy at Stuttgart bears a manuscript note ('Explicit liber iste anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto formatus arte impressoria per venerabilem virum Johannem Mentell in Argentina') which supplies full information, while a Munich copy was purchased on June 27 in the same year, 1466. Numerous later editions of the Bible in German were printed during the fifteenth century, by Heinrich Eggestein and Johann Grüninger at Strassburg, Günther Zainer, Jodocus Pflanzmann, Anton Sorg, and Johann Schönsperger at Augsburg, and Anton Koberger at Nuremberg, besides two Low German editions by Heinrich Quentell at Cologne and another by Stephan Arndes at Lübeck. In no other country in Europe were vernacular Bibles printed so frequently and in so many different places.

29. Illustrated Low German Bible (West Low German dialect). Printed by Heinrich Quentell at Cologne about 1480.

One of two Low German Bibles in different dialects printed by Quentell about the same time, with woodcuts, which were closely copied soon after their appearance by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg, and were subsequently resorted to for suggestions by the illustrator of the Malermi Bible, printed at Venice in 1490, by Holbein, and other artists.

30. The First Printed Italian Bible. Printed by Wendelin of Speier at Venice, and finished August 1, 1471.

Probably as many as twelve vernacular Bibles were printed in Italy during the fifteenth century, a number only exceeded by the German output. But whereas Bible printing in Germany was carried on at several different places, in Italy it was confined to Venice, probably on account of the greater ecclesiastical freedom enjoyed there. The translator was Niccolò Malermi, a Venetian, who had then recently entered the monastery of S. Michele in Murano. Two months later a different translation was printed by Adam of Ammergau, but it was this which held the field and which went on being printed at least as late as 1567.

31. Illustrated Italian Bible. Printed at Venice by Guglielmo Anima Mia of Piancerreto in 1493.

The first fully illustrated edition of the Malermi Bible (six rude cuts, intended merely as a guide to the illuminator, are found in one copy of the edition of 1471) was that of 1490, printed for L. A. Giunta by Giovanni Ragazzo. A copy of this is no. 3 in Show-case VII of the permanent exhibition in the King's Library. This edition, printed by Anima Mia in 1493, was a somewhat unscrupulous imitation of Giunta's venture, although an independent illustrator was employed.

32 Abridged Paraphrase of the Bible in French. With woodcuts. Printed at Lyons by Guillaume Le Roy about 1477.

The book begins 'Lc liure de genese. Cy commence lexposition et la vraye declaracion de la Bible tant du viel que du nouel testament principalement sur toutes les ystoires principales dudit viel et nouel testament. Nouellement faicte par vng tres excellent clerc lequel par sa science fut pape. Et apres la translacion a este veu leu et corret de poent en poent par venerable docteur maistre iulien de l'ordre des augustins de lion suz le rosne.' A complete translation of the New Testament into French by Guyard des Moulins, printed by Le Roy at Lyons about the same time as this abridgement, forms part of the permanent exhibition (Show-case VIII, no 3).

33. The Bible in French. With some expository matter and numerous woodcuts. Printed at Paris for Antoine Vérard about 1510.

34. The First Printed Dutch Bible. Printed at Delft by Jacob Jacobszoen and Maurice Yemantszoen in 1477.

The Dutch version here printed is said to have been made about 1300. This is not a complete Bible, as it omits both the Psalms and the New Testament.

35. The First Printed Bohemian Bible. Printed at Prag for Jan Pytlik and his partners, and completed in August, 1488.

The Museum also possesses a Bohemian New Testament printed at Prag in 1497.

36. The Constitution of the Provincial Council at Oxford, 1408, forbidding the translation of the Scriptures into English without episcopal licence, as printed in Lyndewood's 'Prouinciale seu Constitutiones Angliae.'

'Statuimus igitur et ordinamus vt nemo deinceps textum aliquem sacre scripture auctoritate sua in linguam anglicanam vel aliam transferat per viam libri vel libelli aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis huiusmodi liber libellus aut tractatus iam nouiter tempore dicti Iohannis Wyklyff siue citra compositus aut in posterum componendus in parte vel in toto publice vel occulte sub pena maioris excommunicationis quousque per loci diocesanum, seu si res exegerit per concilium prouinciale, ipsa translatio fuerit approbata.' 'We resolve therefore and ordain that no one henceforth translate any text of holy scripture on his own authority into the English or other tongue by way of book, pamphlet, or tract, and that no book, pamphlet, or tract of the sort be read that was lately composed in the time of the said John Wyclif or since, or that shall in future be composed, in part or in whole, publicly or secretly, under penalty of the greater excommunication, until by the local diocesan, or, if the case demand, by a provincial council, the translation itself be approved.'

Lyndewood compiled his 'Provinciale' in 1433. It was printed at Oxford about 1480–1485, and frequently afterwards. The edition here shown was completed in December, 1525, just as the first copies of the early sheets of Tyndale's New Testament were reaching England, and by an Antwerp printer, Christopher of Endhoven (also called Christopher of Ruremund or Roemund), who himself reprinted the Testament, in 1526, and died in an English prison, into which he had been thrown for having been found selling copies of it in England.

This constitution was frequently quoted during the controversy occasioned by Tyndale's New Testament, and Sir Thomas More founded on its wording a theory (laughed at by Tyndale as 'Master More's poetry') that as the Bibles translated 'recently in the time of John Wyclif' were specifically condemned there were other Bibles of earlier date exempt from condemnation. Lyndewood's comment, written in 1433 ('ex hoc quod dicit nouiter compositus apparet quod libros, libellos vel tractatus in anglicis vel alio ideomate prius translatos de textu scripture legere non est prohibitum'), lends some colour to this theory. But More himself owned that these lawful translations, which he supposed to exist, could not be identified, and there is no ground for believing that any complete English Bible existed before Wyclif's time.

TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT, PENTATEUCH, &c.

Nos. 37–46.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire about 1484, his family name at that time being Hichens. According to Fox, the martyrologist, he was 'brought up from a child in the University of Oxford'. After taking an Oxford degree he studied Greek at Cambridge. While acting as tutor in the house of Sir John Walsh in Gloucestershire, about 1522, he translated the *Encheiridion Militis Christiani*, or Christian Soldier's Handbook, by Erasmus, and became entangled in disputes with the neighbouring clergy, to one of whom he made the promise: 'if God spare my lyfe,

*Sygnes. The sygnes are christ wonderfull deades and miracles/ which were prophesied of before/that they shulde be done in Christes tyme. Esaie xvi.

Peter i the greke/sygnieth a stoone i eglysshe. This confessio is the rocke. Nowe is simo bariona/ or simo ionas sone/called Peter/ because of his confessio. whosoever the this wyse confesseth of Christe/the same is called Peter. now weis this confession coe to all that are true christen. The ys every christe man & woma peter. Rede bede/auste & hiero/of the maner of lowsinge & byndinge and nor ehowe hiero checketh the presumcio of the phariseis i his tyme/which yet had nott so mostrous ierpret acions as oure new goddes have feyned Rede erasmus anotacions. hyt was not for nought that Christ badd beware of the leven of the phariseis. now that

can discerne the fassion of the sye: and can ye not discerne the *sygnes of the tymes? The frowerde natio/ and adulterous/ seketh a sygne: there shall no nother segne be geven vnto the/ but the sygne of the prophet Jonas. So leste he them and departed.

And when his disciples were come to the other syde of the water/ they had forgetten to take breed with them. The Jesus said vnto them: Take hede and beware of the leven of the phariseis/ and of the saduces. They thought a monge them selves sayinge: we have brought no breed with vs. Whe Jesus vnderstode that he saide vnto them. O ye of lytle fayth/ why are youre myndes cubred because ye have brought no breed? So ye not yet perceave/ neither remember these v loves/ whe there were v. M. me & howe many baskett toke ye vp? Nether the vij. loves/ whe there were iiij. M. and howe many baskett toke ye vppe? why perceave ye not the/ that y spake not vnto you of breed/ whe Jsa; de/ beware of the leven of the phariseis and of the saduces? Then vnderstode they/ howe that he badnott them beware of the leven of breed: but off the doctryne of the phariseis/ and of the saduces.

Whe iesus ca in to the coost of the cite which is called cesarea philippi/ he axed hys disciples sayinge: whom do men saye that Jthe sonne of man am? They saide/ some saye that thou arte Jhon baptist/ some helyas/ some Jeremyes/ or wo of the prophett. He seyde vnto them/ butt whom saye ye that Jam? Symon peter answered/ and sayde: Thou arte christ the sone of the levynge god. And Jesus answered & sayde to him: happy arte thou simon the sone of Jonas/ for flesshe and bloud have not opened vnto the that/ but my fater which ys in heven. And Jsaye also vnto the/ that thou arte Peter. And apon thys rocke Jwyll bylde my congregacion: and the gates of hell shall not preveyle a geynst it. And Jwyll yeve vnto the/ the keyes of the kyngdom of heven/ and what sever thou byndest vppon erth/ yt shall be bounde in heven. and what sever thou lowsest on erth/ yt shalbe lowsed in heve. Then he charged his disciples/ that they shulde tell no ma/ that he was Jesus christ. From that tyme forth/ Jesus bega

Mar. viij.

Mar. viij.

Luc. xj. Mar. viij.

ere many yeares I wyl cause a boye that dryueth the plough shall knowe more of the scripture than thou doest'. Finding it advisable to leave Gloucestershire, Tyndale came to London in 1523 and, after vainly seeking employment from the Bishop of London as one of his chaplains, stayed for some time in the house of a charitable merchant, Humphrey Monmouth. In 1524 he fled to Germany, staying in the first instance at Hamburg, afterwards at Wittenberg, and then at Cologne. When his translation of the New Testament was ready, in 1525, he employed either Peter Quentell, a well-known Cologne printer, or possibly some workman connected with Quentell's firm, to print it for him. At the instance of Johann Dobneck, better known as Cochlaeus, a controversialist on the Roman side, the civic authorities intervened, and Tyndale, with his amanuensis, William Roy, was obliged to fly, taking with him the stock of ten sheets already printed. Proceeding up the Rhine to Worms, Tyndale caused two editions of his translation to be printed there by Peter Schoeffer, one (presumably a completion of that begun at Cologne) in quarto with side-notes, the other in octavo with no side-notes, but with prefaces to the different books and an epilogue. One copy and a large fragment of another of the octavo have survived; the quarto (save for a single copy of eight of the Cologne sheets) and also several Antwerp reprints have perished utterly. In 1530 Tyndale issued a translation of the Pentateuch; in 1531 a version of the book of Jonah with an introduction; in November, 1534, a revised edition of his New Testament, together with translations of all the passages from the Old Testament appointed to be read in the Communion Service in place of Epistles; in 1535 another revision of his New Testament. In May of this year he was enticed from the house of the English merchants at Antwerp, where he had been staying for some time, and as soon as he was beyond the jurisdiction of the free city was arrested by the officials of the Emperor. He was at once thrown into prison at Vilvorde, and on October 6, 1536, strangled and burnt there as a heretic. In addition to his published editions, he left behind him a version of the books Joshua—Chronicles II, and Nehemiah. Of this all but the last section was used in the 'Matthew' Bible of 1537 (no. 50), q. v.

37. Tyndale's New Testament. The only known copy of eight of the ten sheets printed at Cologne, probably by Peter Quentell, **1525.**

The first leaf, which probably bore a title, is missing. Leaves 2–8 contain a didactic prologue, beginning 'I haue here translated (brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyinge, consolacion and solas'; leaf 9, a list of 'the bokes conteyned in the newe Testament' on the recto, and on the verso, a woodcut of St. Matthew, used again by Peter Quentell in a later state, the following year, in an edition of a Latin commentary on St. Matthew by Rupert of Deutz. Leaves 10–32 contain the English text of Matthew i–xxii. The eight other leaves printed off, but not preserved, would bring the translation to the beginning of St. Mark, and it is probable that Cochlaeus seized copies of the proofs of any further sheets which had been set up, but not yet printed off. It is thus possible that references to annotations on Matthew and Mark 'in the first print' may refer to this fragment and not to trial issues of these two gospels, as is generally assumed.

This fragment was acquired (by exchange) by Thomas Rodd, a bookseller of Great Newport Street, attached to a coverless tract by Oecolampadius. The

accidental discovery of one of its ornamental capitals in a book printed at Cologne in 1534 led to its identification with the fragment printed for Tyndale in that city in 1525, according to the story as told by Cochlaeus himself. The fragment was purchased by the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, and bequeathed, with the rest of his library, to the British Museum, in 1846.

38. Tyndale's New Testament. The octavo edition printed at Worms by Peter Schoeffer in 1525 or 1526. Lent by the Committee of the Baptist College, Bristol.

This is the earliest printed New Testament of which the complete text survives. In the address 'To the Reader' at the end, Tyndale writes: 'Them that are learned Christenly I beseche: for as moche as I am sure, and my conscience beareth me recorde, that of a pure entent, singilly and faythfully I haue interpreted itt so farre forth as god gave me the gyfte of knowledge and understondynge: that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme offende them not, but that they consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same, or soche lyke thinge in the scripture before tyme . . . Count it as a thynge not havynge his full shape, but as it were borne afore hys tyme, even as a thing begunne rather then fynnesshed. In tyme to come (yf god have apoynted vs there vnto) we will geve it his full shape. . . .

With the exception of a large fragment in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, the copy here shown, lacking only the title-page, is the only one known. For this copy, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, is said in addition to an immediate payment of ten or twenty guineas to have settled an annuity of £20 on John Murray, the book-hunter, who brought it to him. When Harley's printed books were sold by Osborne (the bookseller who bought them *en bloc* for £13,000), this New Testament was imperfectly described and only marked at 15*s*. At this price it was acquired about 1741 by Joseph Ames, the historian of English printing, and on his death passed with his other books to a Mr. Langford. At Langford's sale in 1760 it was acquired for 14½ guineas by a bookseller, John Whyte, in whose hands it remained until 1776 when Whyte sold it for 20 guineas to the Rev. Andrew Gifford, an assistant-librarian in the British Museum, by whom it was bequeathed in 1784 to the Baptist College at Bristol, his native city.

39. Tyndale's Pentateuch. 17 January, 1530.

Issued without any general title-page, but with separate ones for each book, and, except in the case of Genesis, with separate title-pages also to each of the Prologues. At the end of the first part, 'The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis,' is the colophon: '¶ Emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse / by me Hans Luft / the yere of oure Lorde, M.CCCCC. xxx, the xvij. dayes of Ianuarij.' The genuineness of this imprint has been much discussed. Hans Lufft (Luther's favourite printer) is not known to have printed at Marburg (Malborow); the Gothic type and ornaments appear to be connected with Antwerp; and if we may suppose that on account of the activity of Wolsey's agents at Antwerp in 1526–7 the reformers had sent a press and materials from there to Hamburg, the circumstantial statements of John Fox in the second and subsequent editions of his 'Book of Martyrs' become easily credible. According to Fox, Tyndale, after translating the Pentateuch at Antwerp, started to

have it printed at Hamburg but lost his manuscript by shipwreck and had to make a new translation with the aid of Miles Coverdale while living at Hamburg in 1529. Whoever the printer, he seems to have been short of type, as Genesis is printed in black letter, Exodus and Leviticus in roman, Numbers in black letter, and Deuteronomy in roman.

In the address 'To the Reader' prefixed to Genesis, Tyndale describes his experiences in London about 1523 and writes, I 'vnderstode at the laste not only that there was no rowme in my lorde of londons palace to translate the new testament / but also that there was no place to do it in all englonde / as experience doth now openly declare.' Grenville copy, showing the passage quoted.

39A. Tyndale's Pentateuch. 1530.

Another copy, showing Tyndale's version of the Song of Moses (Exodus xv).

40. Tyndale's Translation of the Book of Jonah. Printed at Antwerp by Martin Lempereur, or Keysere, about 1531.

'The prophete Ionas, with an introducciō before teachinge to understōde him and the right vse also of all the scripture', etc. The only copy known. It bears the names of Thomas and Isabella Hervey, parents of John Hervey, created Baron Hervey of Ickworth in 1703 (Earl of Bristol, 1714), and was discovered in the library at Ickworth in 1861 by Lord Arthur Hervey, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

41. George Joye's unauthorized revision of Tyndale's New Testament. Printed at Antwerp by the Widow of Christopher of Endhoven, August, 1534.

According to the story Joye subsequently told about this book, two unauthorized reprints of Tyndale's New Testament published by Dutchmen (the first by Christopher of Endhoven in 1526) were sold out about the end of 1533. The publishers then asked Joye to act as their corrector of the press for a third edition, but knowing that Tyndale was himself engaged on a revision he refused to interfere. When the third (unauthorized) edition appeared Joye found it full of misprints. He therefore consented, on the publishers again asking his help for a fourth edition, to supervise this, lest another 2,000 copies should be put on the market full of misprints. As proof-corrector he was paid at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a sheet of 32 pages. He did not, however, confine his work to proof-correcting, but made changes in the text which aroused Tyndale's just anger, and drew down the reproof mentioned in the next entry. The copy exhibited, bequeathed by Thomas Grenville, is the only one known.

42. Tyndale's first revision of his New Testament. Printed at Antwerp by Martin Lempereur or Keyser, November, 1534.

This is the first authorized edition of Tyndale's New Testament of which a title-page survives. It reads: 'The newe Testament, dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A. M.D. ℞. xxxiiij in the moneth of Nouember.' Tyndale had carefully revised the

text of his translation for this edition and was the more annoyed at the appearance in August of George Joye's unauthorized version of it. In a supplementary preface, headed 'Willyam Tyndale yet once more to the christen reader', Tyndale expresses his opinion of Joye's conduct very plainly, more particularly as to the substitution in certain places of 'the life after this' and similar phrases for the word 'Resurrection'.

42[A]. Another copy of Tyndale's revised New Testament of November, 1534, printed on vellum, with the arms of Anne Boleyn as Queen of England emblazoned on the second title-page and the words 'Anna Regina Angliæ' painted on the gilt edges of the leaves.

This vellum copy is usually assumed to have been presented to the Queen by some friend of Tyndale, if not by Tyndale himself. The Old Royal Library, however, contains two copies of a French folio Bible printed by the same printer and published in the same year, 1534. One of these copies is on vellum, the other bears on its covers the initials of Henry VIII and Anne. There is no ground for saying that these French Bibles were presented to the King and Queen by Tyndale or his friends, and in whatever way these were acquired the English New Testament may have been acquired also. Possibly all three were presented by the printer.

43. George Joye's second unauthorized edition of Tyndale's New Testament. Printed at Antwerp by the Widow of Christopher of Endhoven, January 9, 1535.

In this reprint Joye appended an address 'Vnto the Reader' beginning 'Thus endeth the new Testament prynted after the copye corrected by George Joye: whcrin for englisshyng thys worde Resurrectio the lyfe after this W. Tindale was so sore offended that he wrote hys vncharitable pistle agenst me prefixed [to] his newe corrected testament, prynted 1534. in Nouember, entytled .W. T. yet once more to the Christen redere . which pistle W. T. hath promysed before certayne men & me (or els I wolde my selfe haue defended my name & clered myselfe of those lyes and sclaunders there writen of me) that he wolde calle agene his Pystle and so correcte yt, redresse yt, and reforme yt accordinge to my mynde that I shuldc be there wyth contented, and vs bothe (as agreed) to salute the readers withe one salutacion in the same reformed pistle to be set before his testament now in printing. . .'

After Joye's interpolation of this reference to 'lyes and sclaunders' it is not surprising to find that the efforts of the peacemakers failed, Tyndale refusing to carry out the agreemcnt. Joye defended himself more fully the next month in a separate tract entitled 'An apology to W. Tindale'.

The only copy known of this edition.

44. The last New Testament revised by Tyndale. Printed by G. H., i.e. Godfried van der Haghen at Antwerp, 1535.

The title reads: 'The newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale: Where vnto is added a Kalendar and a necessarye Table. Wherein easely and lightelye maye be founde any storye contayned in the foure Euangelistes and in

the Actes of the Apostles.' A second title-page immediately preceding the text of the New Testament is dated 'Anno M.D. xxxiiii,' denoting probably that printing was begun shortly before Ladyday, 1535. In the following May Tyndale was arrested.

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45. Erasmus's Edition of the New Testament in Greek, with a Latin translation. Used by Tyndale for his English version. First edition. Published at Basel in 1516.

Erasmus seems to have been first led to contemplate an edition of the New Testament in Greek by a suggestion of Johann Froben, at that time the best-known publisher in Basel. The scope of the work was afterwards extended by the addition of a Latin version (written independently of the Vulgate) and of a body of annotations, the whole being issued by Froben in one folio volume, February, 1516; the first part consists of the Greek and Latin text printed in parallel columns, the second part comprises the notes. In preparing the Greek text, Erasmus took as his basis a collation of several manuscripts which he found at Basel, besides incorporating variant readings from a number of others which he had examined in the course of his travels, in England and elsewhere. 'I have revised the New Testament', he writes in the introduction to the annotations, 'with all possible diligence and faithfulness, first and foremost according to the Greek originals, to which, if any difficulty arise, we should fly as to the fountain head (so the example of famous divines urges us, the decrees of the Roman pontiffs even command us)—secondly, according to the most ancient MSS. of the Latin language, two of which that most worthy adept of divine philosophy, John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's at London, has shown to me, written in so archaic a letter that I had to begin my reading lessons afresh over it and hark back to my schoolboy days—lastly, according to the quotations or emendations of the most approved authors, Origen, Chrysostom, etc.' Erasmus's work thus constitutes the first attempt at producing a scientifically correct text of the Greek New Testament, although the materials at his disposal were very defective. Its success among Biblical scholars was immediate and great; a second revised edition, which Luther took as the basis of his translation, appeared in 1519, and Erasmus himself estimated that 3300 copies of both editions together were in circulation.

46. Luther's Translation of the New Testament into German, used by Tyndale for his English version. Printed by Melchior Lotter at Wittenberg in 1522.

Luther's first Biblical translation, a version of the Penitential Psalms, was published in 1517, but it was not until 1521 that his enforced stay in the Wartburg castle, near Eisenach, gave him leisure to make more considerable progress. The New Testament first appeared, without date of publication or name of translator or publisher, in the following year, as a handsome folio volume with a woodcut initial prefixed to each book and twenty-one woodcuts illustrating the Apocalypse. There are occasional short comments in the margin of the text, and introductions of some length to the New Testament as a whole and to the Epistle to the Romans, as well as shorter prefaces to the other Epistles. The general introduction lays stress on the fact that the Gospels are to be considered as a whole and on the unity of tradition and

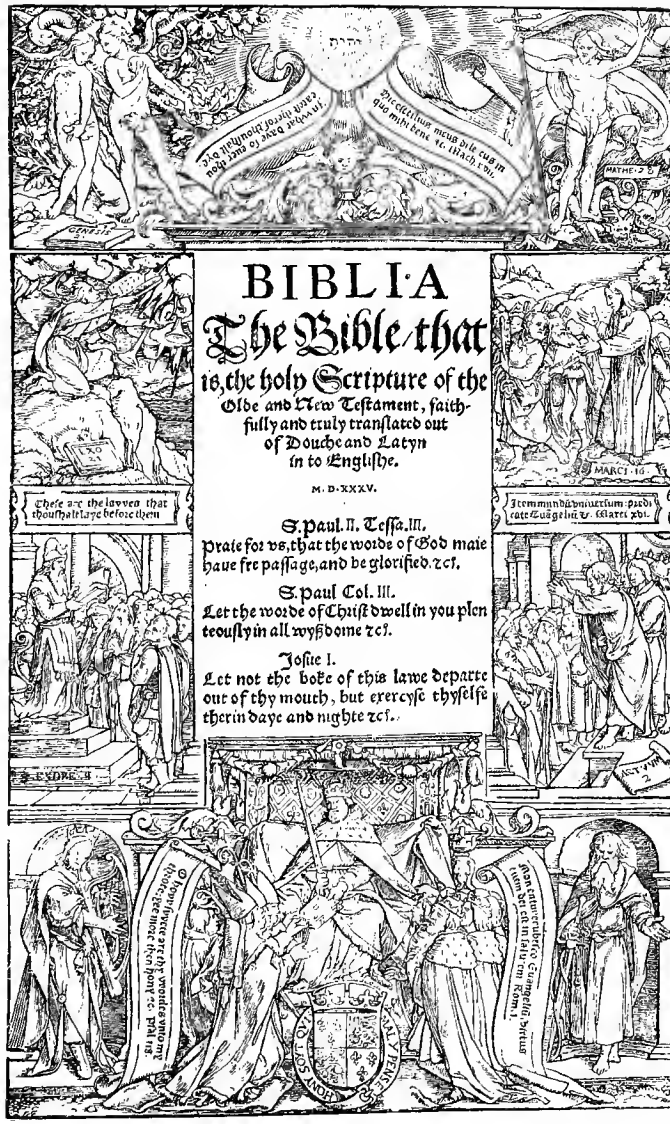
prophecy connecting the New Testament with the Old. In an additional section entitled 'Which are the right and most noble books of the New Testament' Luther discusses the comparative value of the various books, and arrives at the conclusion: 'St. John's Gospel and his first Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, and St. Peter's first Epistle—these are the books that show Christ to you and teach you all that is needful and wholesome for you to know, even though you neither read nor hear any other book or teaching. And therefore St. James's Epistle is a right Epistle of straw compared to these, for it has nothing about it of the Gospel fashion.' Luther based his translation on Erasmus's edition of the Greek text, that being the best available, and he also consulted the Vulgate and Erasmus's Latin version for purposes of comparison.

COVERDALE AND MATTHEW BIBLES.

Nos. 47–53.

Miles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire in 1488. After studying at Cambridge he took priest's orders in 1514 and became an Augustinian friar at the convent at Cambridge. Before 1527 he had attracted the notice of both More and Cromwell. When his prior, Robert Barnes, was arrested for heresy in 1526 Coverdale helped in his defence, and subsequently preached on the Protestant side. According to Fox Coverdale stayed at Hamburg with Tyndale from Easter to December, 1529, 'in the house of a worshipfull widowe, Maistres Margaret van Emmerson,' during a time of 'greate sweating sicknesse', and helped him in a second translation of the Pentateuch after his first version had been lost at sea. In 1531 he took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge. During the next four years he must have been mainly occupied in translating the Bible. He was possibly subsidized during this time by an Antwerp merchant, Jacob van Meteren, who also may have defrayed the cost of printing his version; our knowledge of Jacob's intervention, however, is derived solely from the statements of his son Emanuel and Emanuel's biographer, Simeon Ruytinck.

The first edition of Coverdale's Bible was published with the date 4 October, 1535, but without any information as to where or by whom it was printed. If it is correctly assigned to Christopher Froschouer at Zurich, the translator, after beginning his task at Antwerp, probably removed to Zurich to see it through the press. The book was allowed to circulate in England, and reprints from the press of James Nycholson at Southwark in 1537 are stated on their title-pages to be 'set forth with the Kynges moost gracious license'. Nevertheless Convocation had petitioned the King for a new version in June, 1536, and Cranmer and Cromwell in 1537 obtained authority to place these words 'set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce' on the Bible which professed to be 'truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew'. This was really a composite edition containing Tyndale's version of Genesis to Chronicles, Coverdale's of the rest of the Old Testament, and Tyndale's of the New, with side-notes and prefaces to the books of the New Testament containing



47. COVERDALE'S BIBLE.

much controversial matter. Whether a real Thomas Matthew could have been produced if necessary is not known, but the name, which may at first have been used to avoid any mention of Tyndale, came to be regarded as a pseudonym of the editor, John Rogers, a Cambridge graduate, who had made Tyndale's acquaintance at Antwerp in the months preceding his arrest, and may thus have become possessed of the portion of his translation (Joshua—Chronicles) not previously printed. Rogers himself is credited with translating the Prayer of Manasses in the Apocrypha from a French version of it, and with selecting, writing, or translating the notes. His initials. I.R., occur conspicuously at the end of the 'Exhortacyon to the studye of the holy Scripture'. During the latter years of Henry VIII's reign Rogers lived abroad. Under Edward VI he held various preferments in London and was the first protestant to be burnt for his religion by Mary.

47. The First Printed English Bible. Translated by Miles Coverdale. Dated October 4, 1535. Probably printed at Zurich by Christopher Froschouer. Folio.

The title reads: 'Biblia The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englyshe MDXXXV.' [Three texts.]

Coverdale repeatedly states that pressure was brought to bear upon him to undertake this work, and that encouragement was given him to proceed with it, but it is not known to whom this refers. In his dedication to the King he says: 'I haue nether wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaunce of any maner of secte, but haue with a clene conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyue sundry interpreters.' These were the Vulgate Latin translation, a new Latin translation by Santes Pagninus (see no. 48), the German version of Luther (see no. 46), the Swiss-German version of Leo Judä (see no. 49), and, for the New Testament, the English version of Tyndale.

This disclaimer of controversial intentions, and perhaps also the strong anti-papal attitude on the question of the Supremacy which Coverdale took up in his dedication, produced their effect. After the book had been in circulation for some time, Royal privilege was granted to it, and James Nycholson's quarto reprint bears the words *Set foorth with the Kynges moost gracious licence.*

It was certainly printed abroad, and is attributed to the press of Christopher Froschouer at Zurich on the strength of two surviving leaves of an edition of the Swiss-German Bible, printed in the same type as the text of the English Bible, which are known to have once belonged to a complete copy which bore Froschouer's imprint. Early in the seventeenth century we find statements made by or on the authority of Emanuel van Meteren, a member of the Dutch church in London, that his father Jacob van Meteren (an Antwerp merchant) had taken some part in the production of an English Bible, presumably either this or that of 1539. But these statements are confused, and their importance has been absurdly exaggerated.

Not only the text, but the title-page and other preliminary leaves of the book were originally printed abroad. But when it was ascertained that its importation would be allowed, the title and preliminaries were reprinted by James Nycholson of Southwark, in order that the book might bear on the face of it an English appearance, and purchasers thus not be deterred by fear of contravening the proclamation forbidding the purchase of English books printed abroad. In the reprinted title the

words 'out of Douche and Latyn' were omitted (doubtless lest 'Douche' [=German] should suggest heresy), and the third text lengthened to fill the space.

48. Latin Translation of the Bible by Pagninus, used by Coverdale for his English version. Printed by Antonius du Ry, at Lyon, 1527 [1528].

This Latin translation of the Bible is the work of Santes Pagninus, a Dominican of Lucca, and one of the most learned Orientalists of his day (born about 1470, died 1536). From the preliminary matter prefixed to the volume we learn that Pagninus began his translation about 1493, and completed it some time before 1520. In that year he submitted it to Pope Leo X, who was so much impressed by it that he ordered it to be printed at his own expense. Part of it had already been completed in the next year, when Leo died. Pagninus thereupon decided to emigrate to Avignon, whence after some time he moved on to Lyon. There he found a number of Italian friends, including two kinsmen, Franciscus Turchus and Dominicus Bertus, who, in conjunction with the Florentine bookseller, Jacobus de Giuntis, supplied him with the means of getting his translation published. A feature of the work is the elaborate glossary or 'Book of interpretations of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek names contained in the sacred writings, in which the meaning, derivation, and composition of each name is accurately set forth according to its proper idiom, the places where it occurs are cited, the variants of the Latin MSS. are noted, and corruptions are restored to their true state, further more the pronunciation is denoted by accents and the number of verses in each chapter according to the Hebrew manuscripts is set forth, so as to leave little to be desired'. As to the last point, it may be noted that this is the first Bible in which the text is divided into numbered verses, but the system employed in the Apocrypha and the New Testament is different from that now in use. The fact that this new Latin version was made with full papal approval was used in the preface to the English Bible of 1611 to blunt the Roman argument that the making of a new English Bible proved the badness of existing ones.

49. The Zurich Swiss-German Bible, used by Coverdale for his English version. Printed by Christopher Froschouer at Zurich in 1530.

The Zurich Swiss-German version of the Bible took its rise in the so-called 'Prophezei' or public Bible-lectures held at Zurich by Zwingli and the most eminent scholars of his circle. Chief among the translators was Leo Judä, or Jud, of Rappoldsweiler in Alsace, one of Zwingli's most intimate friends and for many years minister of St. Peter's Church at Zurich. The translation itself underwent many modifications. Its first sections, including the New Testament (1524) and the Old Testament with the exception of the Prophets (1525–1527), consisted merely of an adaptation of Luther's versions of these books to the Swiss form of speech. It was not until 1529 that the first instalments of an independent translation were published, consisting of the Prophets and the Apocrypha, the former by 'the preachers at Zurich', the latter by Judä alone. In the preface to the Prophets the translators say: 'Whereas we have now for some years publicly read the books of the Old Testament, diligently comparing the tongues one with another, we have been instantly urged by many good and pious folk to print our German interpretation of the Prophets. This, though a hard and great task for us, we have consented to do, on the one hand because we thought it not

fair to deny the earnest requests of the faithful, on the other, that we may not unfaithfully bury the talent which the Lord our God has lent to us, but rather use the gifts to the glory of Him who gave them and to the profit of the whole Church of Christ.' The whole version as then completed, with minor alterations, seems to have been first issued with the collective title 'die ganze Bibel' in 1530, in quarto and sextodecimo. A new translation of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs was substituted in the next year, and in 1538 Leo Judā, in collaboration with a learned Jewish convert, Michael Adam, undertook a revision of the whole; this was published in 1539 and 1540, and a fresh revision of the Old Testament followed in 1542. Judā died in June of the same year, while at work on a new Latin translation, which was completed by some of his colleagues after his death and appeared in 1543.

50. The Second English Printed Bible. Tyndale-Coverdale version, purporting to be translated by Thomas Matthew. Edited by John Rogers. Dated 1537. Printed abroad, almost certainly at Antwerp, for Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Folio.

This is a composite version, containing Tyndale's New Testament and Pentateuch, and also, it is believed, a version by him of Joshua to Chronicles II not previously printed. Rogers was intimate with Tyndale in the last years of his life, having acted as priest to the English merchant-adventurers at Antwerp, and may well have received the translation from him or found it among his papers after his arrest. It has marginal notes, prefaces, and also a collection of passages bearing on different subjects and arranged alphabetically, entitled, 'A table of the pryncypall matters contayned in the Byble,' all of which are unsparingly controversial. For the name Thomas Matthew, see the prefatory note above. The printing is attributed to Simon Cock of Antwerp.

Like Coverdale's Bible, this was granted the Royal privilege, but apparently before instead of after publication. Cranmer, in a letter to Cromwell of August 4, 1537, urged him to obtain the King's authorization for it, on the ground that it was a new translation—words which suggest that he must have read the book very carelessly. When the King's authority was obtained by Cromwell, the Archbishop declared that he was gladder than if he had been given a thousand pounds.

Richard Grafton, who now appears as a Bible-publisher, was a member of the Grocers' Company, and took up the dangerous venture through enthusiasm, though clearly not without a regard to his own profit. At the end of August he writes to Cromwell that he has spent £500 in printing 1,500 copies, and asks for protection from piratical reprints and that every curate be ordered to buy one copy and every monastery six.

51. Coverdale's Latin and English New Testament. Printed by James Nycholson at Southwark, 1538.

The importance of this book, if it had appeared earlier, might have been very great. It gives the text of the Vulgate, i.e. of the Latin translation of the Bible made by St. Jerome, to which every one was accustomed in the Church services, and beside it a simple English rendering. Ten years earlier such a book might well have been

accepted by Sir Thomas More; but, appearing when it did, although we must assume from the rapid appearance of three editions that it sold quickly, it does not seem to have attracted much attention.

52. Coverdale's Latin and English New Testament. Coverdale's authorized edition, printed under his supervision by François Regnault at Paris, December, 1538.

Coverdale was absent in Paris while the preceding book was passing through the press, and so was unable to supervise it, and when a copy casually reached him he found it so full of faults that in the Autumn of 1538 he arranged for the production of an edition which he could see through the press himself; the printer of this was François Regnault of Paris. In his dedicatory letter to Cromwell, Coverdale writes of this edition and its predecessor in the following terms: 'because I coulde not be present my selfe (by the reason of sondrye notable impedimētes) therfore in asmoch as the new testsment [*sic*], which I had set forth in English before, doth so agree wyth the latyn, I was hartely well contēt, that the latyn and it shulde be set together. . . And so doynge, I was cōtēt to set my name to it. And euen so I dyd: trustinge, that though I were absent & out of the lande, yet all shuld be well: And (as God is my recorde) I knew none other, till this last Julye, that it was my chaūce here in these parties [*sic*] at a straungers hande, to come by a copye of the sayde prynte. Which whan I had perused, I founde, that as it was disagreable to my former translacion in English, so was not the true copye of the latyn texte obserued, nether the english so correspondent to the same, as it ought to be: but in many places both base, insensyble, & cleane contrary, not onely to the phrase of our language, but also from the vnderstondyng of the texte in latyn . . . And therfore, as my dewtye is to be faythfull, to edifye, and with the vttemost of my power to put awaye all occasions of euell, so hauc I . . . endenoured [*sic*] my selfe to wede out the fautes,' &c.

Meanwhile, Nycholson had sold his first edition and printed another. According to the catalogue of the Huth collection this second Southwark edition is also found with Coverdale's name on the title-page. The copy in the Museum collection has these words: 'Faythfullye translated by Johan Hollybushe,' probably substituted by Nycholson when copies of Coverdale's corrected Paris edition began to reach London. This was a poor apology and resembles Joye's answers to Tyndale's remonstrances. By an ingenious chain of reasoning Mr. E. Gordon Duff (*The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from* 1476 *to* 1535, pp. 224–6) has made it appear probable that this Johan Hollybushe should be identified with Hans van Ruremond, an Antwerp printer, and kinsman of the Christopher van Ruremond, alias van Endhoven, who died in prison in England for selling New Testaments, and whose widow printed for George Joye.

53. Taverner's Bible. Printed by John Byddell for Thomas Berthelet, 1539.

Richard Taverner is believed to have been educated at Benet (now Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge, and to have migrated to Wolsey's new foundation of Cardinal College at Oxford, where he took his degree in 1527. After reincorporation at Caius College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1529 and M.A. in 1530, he went abroad, but soon returned destitute. He appealed to Cromwell, who secured him

a small pension which enabled him to study law, and became clerk to the privy seal in 1536. He wrote several pamphlets on the Reformation side. He did not die till 1575.

Beside this folio edition there were two quarto editions printed in 1539, one by Byddell, the other by Nycholson, and also a quarto and a duodecimo edition of the New Testament alone, both by Byddell. No copy of any of these has survived.

Taverner's version was immediately superseded by the Great Bible, and had practically no influence on later versions.

THE GREAT BIBLES.

Nos. 54–59.

This version was a revision by Coverdale of the Matthew Bible, with the further aid of Sebastian Münster's Latin Bible of 1539 and the Complutensian Polyglott Bible of 1514–1517 [actually published in 1522]. The sidenotes and theological preliminaries were omitted, in accordance with the Proclamation of November, 1538.

The first edition was that mainly printed at Paris by François Regnault (who printed Coverdale's own edition of his Vulgate and English New Testament in December, 1538) and completed in London in April, 1539.

The reasons assigned for having the book printed in France were the excellence of the French paper and the quickness with which a large work could be completed by Paris printers. A stronger reason may have been the desire to distinguish this edition as much as possible from the previous English Bibles printed at Zurich and Antwerp. It was an unfortunate decision, however, for Cromwell thus gave French diplomacy a weapon of which it was not slow to avail itself. In spite of a licence obtained from Francis I, the officers of the Inquisition were, at the instigation of the French ambassador in London, let loose upon the printing-office on December 17, 1538, a few days after Henry VIII had outraged public opinion by the execution of the brothers of Cardinal Pole. At least some of the stock of sheets of the Bible was publicly burnt, but the greater part was kept as an asset in the negotiations with Cromwell, whose frequent complaints to successive French ambassadors do not seem to have taken effect till the autumn of 1539.

Meanwhile Grafton had privately rescued a small number of the copies set aside for burning, imported French type and workmen into England, and with their aid completed the rescued copies in 1539; the rest of the edition cannot have been issued until much later.

There was a second edition finished in April, 1540, in which and in subsequent editions there was prefixed a prologue by Cranmer and on the title the words, 'This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches.' The editions with Cranmer's prologue are often called Cranmer's Bibles.

In July, 1540, Cromwell was executed. The publication of the Great Bible had been mainly his work, but it did not stop immediately after his death. He had procured from the king a patent giving him complete control over the publication of all Bibles. The Privy Council, in April, 1541, placed this control in the hands of Anthony Marler, who had previously acted under Cromwell, and authorized him to charge the prices which Cromwell had permitted. At his instance a Proclamation

was issued on May 6, 1541, that every church should have a copy before the following All Saints' Day. It also declared the official prices of bound and unbound copies.

After 1541 there was no more Bible-printing in the reign of Henry VIII. Under the guidance of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Convocation condemned the very translation which the churches had so recently been ordered to buy. It was resolved that a new translation should be made, adhering closely to the Vulgate and reproducing its technical terms. The translators were chosen, and there the matter ended.

54. First Great Bible. The text of the Matthew Bible revised by Miles Coverdale. Printed by François Regnault at Paris and completed by Richard Grafton in London with Regnault's type in April, 1539.

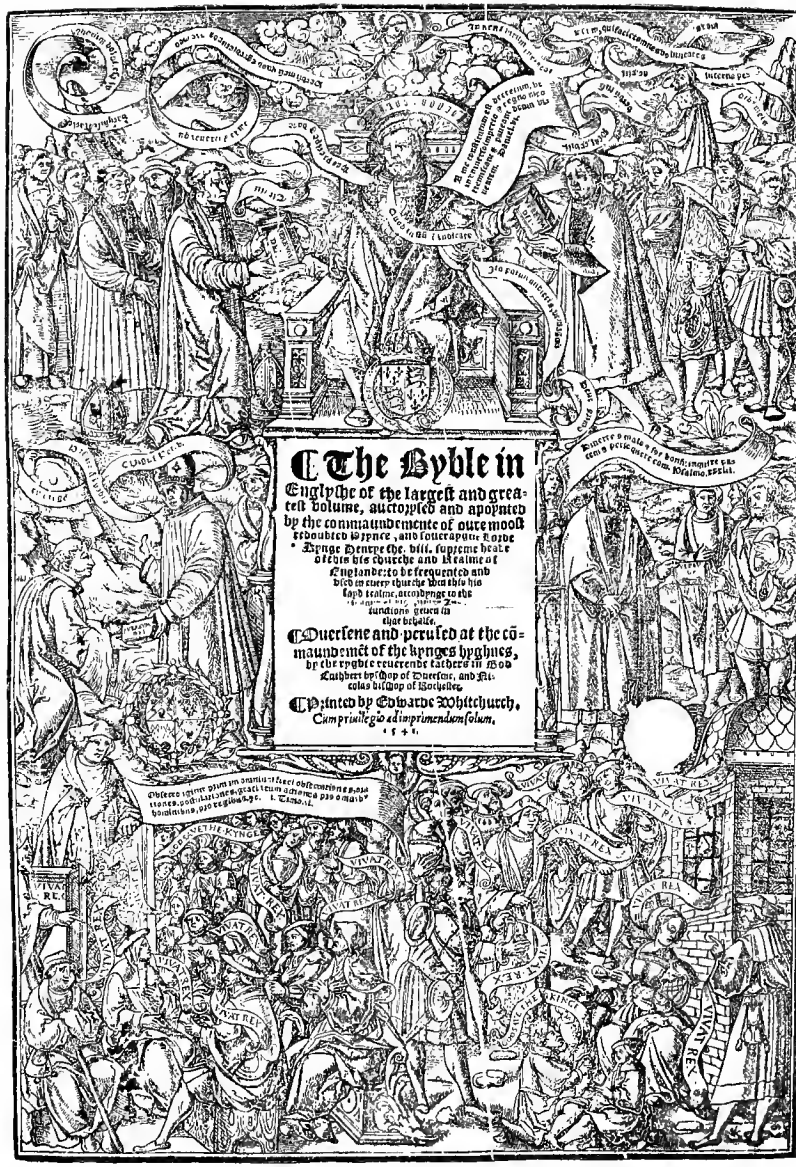
The title reads: 'The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture, bothe of y^e^ olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y^e^ dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Printed by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.'

The printing of this Bible was begun before June, 1538, and by the autumn of that year so much progress had been made with it that Cromwell in the Injunctions which he issued as Vicar-General ordered every parish to procure a copy. As, however, only two thousand were being printed, many other editions would be needed before such an artificial demand could be satisfied. On December 13, when matters looked threatening (see prefatory note above), some copies were sent for safe-keeping to the English ambassador, Bishop Bonner, at that time an ardent supporter of Bible-printing. These, and the 'four great dry fattes' full of sheets which were dishonestly sold by the French 'Lieutenant-Criminal' to a haberdasher to wrap caps in, were recovered by Grafton and enabled him to complete a certain number of copies in April, 1539. But it is certain that the bulk of the stock was not recovered till several months later than this and after much negotiation. This Bible is sometimes called Cromwell's Bible, and he certainly was largely responsible for it. He told the French ambassador that he had personally spent £400 on its production, and he was persistent in his efforts to recover the stock. In the finely designed woodcut title-page, attributed to Holbein, in which Henry VIII is shown delivering Bibles to his people, they are given by the hands of Cranmer and Cromwell, the arms of each being shown close to him. After Cromwell's execution his coat was cut out of the block (see note to no. 56 and plate opposite).

55. Second Great Bible. Printed in London by Edward Whitchurch, April, 1540.

The title reads: 'The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy scrypture, both of y^e^ olde, and newe testamēt, with a prologe therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury, This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches. Prynted by Edward Whytchurche. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. M. D. xl.'

This is the first of the six Great Bibles often called Cranmer's Bibles from their containing a prologue by the Archbishop. The text shows some further marks of



56. THE GREAT BIBLE.

revision by Coverdale. It is the first edition which bears the words, 'This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches.' In Show-case XIII A of the permanent exhibition is shown a magnificent copy of this book printed on vellum and presented to the King by Anthony Marler of London, haberdasher, who appears to have acted as the publisher of this and subsequent editions, while Grafton and Whitchurch superintended the printing. In at least three editions (the fourth, sixth, and seventh) some copies bear Grafton's name, others that of Whitchurch, and this may be the case with others. But Grafton's imprint is usually found in the first and third, and Whitchurch's in the second and fifth.

56. Fourth Great Bible. Printed in London by Edward Whitchurch in November, 1540, but not published till 1541.

The title reads: 'The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commaundemente of oure moost redoubted Prynce, and soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henrye the .viii. supreme heade of this his churche and Realme of Englande: to be frequented and vsed in euery churche w^tin this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenour of his former Iniunctions geuen in that behalfe. Ouersene and perused at the cōmaundemēt of the kynges hyghnes by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God Cuthbert byshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bishop of Rochester. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1541.'

The third Great Bible was dated July, 1540, the month in which Cromwell was executed. This fourth edition is the first which has the arms of Cromwell cut out of the block from which the title-page was printed, the effect of which was to give him increased prominence. It was probably Cromwell's disgrace and death which caused the printer to comply now for the first time with the Proclamation of 1538 by taking the necessary steps to add to the title the words 'Ouersene and perused,' &c. Although this episcopal supervision by Cuthbert Tunstall and Nicholas Heath was probably merely nominal, the formalities of obtaining it seem to have delayed the publication of the book for some months after the completion of the text.

57. Royal Proclamation of May 6, 1541. Ordering every vicar, &c., to comply with the Injunctions (issued by Cromwell), and procure a copy of the Great Bible for public use in his church before All Saints' Day, 1541, and also fixing the price of the book.

'Where . . . It was ordeyned and commaunded amongest other thynges, that in al and synguler paryshe churches, there shuld be prouyded by a certen day now expyred, at the costes of the curates and paryshioners, Byblcs conteynynge the olde and newe Testament, in the Englyshe tounge, to be fyxed and set vp openlye in euery of the sayd paryshe churches . . . By the which Iniunctiōs the Kynges royall maiestye intended, that his louynge subiectes shulde haue and vse the commoditie of the readyng of the sayde Bybles . . . humbly, mekely, reuerently and obediently: and not that any of them shulde reade the sayde Bybles, wyth lowde and hyghe voyces, in tyme of the celebracion of the holye Masse and other dyuyne seruices vsed in the churche, nor that any hys laye subiectes redynge the same, shulde presume to take vpon them, any commen dysputacyon, argumente or exposicyon of the mysteries therein conteyned . . . Hys royall maiestye is informed that dyuers and many Townes and

paryshes wythin thys hys realme haue negligently omytted theyr dueties in the accomplishement therof whcrof his hyghnes maruayleth not a lytle. And myndynge the execucion of his sayde former, moost godly and gracyous Inunctions: doeth straytlye charge and commaunde that the Curates and paryshioners of euery towne and paryshe wythin thys hys realme of Englande, not hauynge already Bybles prouyded wythin theyr paryshe churches, shall on thys syde the feaste of Alsayntes next cōmynge, bye and prouyde Bybles of the largest and greatest volume, ꝛ cause the same to be set ꝛ fyxed in euery of the sayde paryshe churches . . . vpon payne that the Curate and inhabitauntes of the paryshes and townes, shal lose and forfayte to the Kynges maiestye for euery moneth that they shall lacke and want the sayde Bybles, after the same feast of Alsayntes fourty shyllynges . . . the sellers therof, shall not take for any of the sayde Bybles vnbounde, aboue the pryce of ten shyllynges. And for euery of the sayde Bybles well and sufficientlye, bounde, trymmed and clasped, not aboue twelue shyllynges,' &c.

58. Sixth Great Bible. Printed by Edward Whitchurch, November, 1541.

The title follows that of the edition of November, 1540; in some copies Grafton's name is found instead of that of Whitchurch.

59. Seventh and last Great Bible. Printed by Richard Grafton, December, 1541.

The title is shortened in this edition, and reads: 'The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture, both of the olde ꝛ newe testament with a prologe therinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archebysshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble appoynted to the vse of the churches. Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. do. M.D. xli.'

In some copies Whitchurch's name is found instead of Grafton's. This, like the sixth edition, must have been put in hand on the strength of the sale assured by the Proclamation of May 6.

THE FIRST GENEVA EDITIONS AND THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

Nos. 60–63.

While there was much Bible-printing during the short reign of Edward VI, no new English translation was made. But the Marian exiles at Geneva found French and Italian revisers at work there and 'the store of heauenly learning & iudgement, which so abundeth in this Citie that iustely it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religion and godlynes' encouraged William Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, to revise Tyndale's New Testament mainly with the help of the Latin version of Théodore de Bèze. His version was published in June, 1557, and the English congregation then found the funds for a complete translation of the Bible, which, with the help of two other Puritan scholars, Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson,

Whittingham finished seeing through the press in April, 1560, in a well-printed quarto. In the following January Elizabeth granted to John Bodley (father of Sir Thomas) an exclusive patent for printing the new version, to last for seven years; but the patent stipulated that the Bible should be 'so ordered in the edicion thereof' as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London might advise, and to avoid this supervision the second edition, a folio, was printed in 1562 at Geneva. In the following years Bodley apparently caused the translation to undergo a 'reviewe' to meet the bishops' wishes, and they recommended an extension of his patent. But the facts that the third edition (1570) was again issued at Geneva and that no edition was printed in England during Parker's life show that no agreement was reached, doubtless on account of the controversial notes by which the translation was accompanied.

Meanwhile Archbishop Parker himself had carried through a new revision with the aid of the bishops of his province and a few other scholars, and this was printed in a handsome folio by the Queen's printer, Richard Jugge, in 1568. This 'Bishops' Bible', as it came to be called, never received any kind of authorization from the Privy Council, and after the first edition had appeared a copy of the Great Bible was published by Cawood still bearing the words: 'According to the translation that is appointed to be read in the Churches.' But the Convocation of Canterbury in 1571 enjoined churchwardens to see that 'Bibles such as have lately been printed in London, in the largest volume (if it can be done conveniently) be placed in all churches', and before Parker's death, May 17, 1575, editions in large folio had been printed in 1572 and 1574, and in quarto in 1569 and 1573, besides probably one or more editions in octavo. The Bishops' version was thus being slowly taken into use as the 'Great Bibles' became worn out, although probably some parishes with Puritan ministers used the Geneva folio edition of 1562.

60. The First Geneva New Testament. Translated by William Whittingham. Printed at Geneva by Conrad Badius in 1557.

'The Newe Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approued translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke & Epistle, also diuersities of readings, and moste proffitable annotations of all harde places: wherunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva Printed by Conrad Badius. M.D.LVII.'

William Whittingham, a Senior Student of Christ Church, was an elder of the English Congregation at Geneva and in 1560 became its minister. In 1563 he was made Dean of Durham. His translation is anonymous, but there is little doubt as to its authorship, and the preface, which is written throughout in the first person singular, suggests that he worked unhelped. The important new influence in his translation was the Latin version of the New Testament by Théodore de Bèze (first published at Geneva in 1556); for the basis of his text he went back to Tyndale, although using also the Great Bible.

This was the first English New Testament with a critical text (i.e. one taking account of 'diuersities of readings'), the first divided into verses, the first printed in roman type, and the first in which a subordinate type (italic, in this case) was used for words needed to complete the sense, but having no equivalent in the original. It bore on its title a woodcut of Truth and Time, with the explanation, 'God by Tyme restoreth Truth and maketh her victorious.'

61. The First Geneva Bible. Translated by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson and possibly others. Printed at Geneva by Rouland Hall in 1560.

'The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With the best translations in diuers languages. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall. MDLX.'

The Old Testament in this version is based on that of the Great Bible revised with the aid of the translations of Pagninus, Leo Judä, and Sebastian Münster, and the new revision (Geneva 1555) of the French version of Olivetan. The New Testament is a revision of Whittingham's translation of 1557, showing an increased use of the Latin of Théodore de Bèze.

All the features of the New Testament of 1557, critical and explanatory notes, arguments prefixed to each chapter, verse divisions, use of italics for added words, &c., reappear in this Bible, which was furthermore illustrated with 26 'figures' in the text to elucidate 'certeyne places in the bookes of Moses, of the Kings and Ezekiel' which 'semed so darke that by no description thei colde be made easie to the simple reader', and by five 'mappes of Cosmographie' illustrating the wanderings of the Israelites, the division of Canaan, Jerusalem and the second Temple, Palestine in the time of Christ, and the journeys of the Apostles. On the title-page is a small woodcut of the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites, round which are the texts, 'Feare ye not, stand stil, and beholde the saluacion of the Lord which he will shewe to you this day. The Lord shall fight for you: therefore holde you your peace' (Exod. xiv. 13, 14); and 'Great are the troubles of the righteous: but the Lord deliuereth them out of all' (Psalms xxxiv. 19).

62. First Edition of the Bishops' Bible. Printed by Richard Jugge, 1568.

'The. holie. Bible, conteyning the olde Testament and the newe. Imprinted at London in powles Churchyarde by Richarde lugge, printer to the Queenes Maiestie. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.'

The twelve Bishops who aided Parker in this revision were those of Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield, Ely, Exeter, Lincoln, Llandaff, London, Norwich, Peterborough, St. Davids, Winchester, and Worcester. The Psalms were originally assigned to Guest, Bishop of Rochester, but his revision appears to have been rejected, and the work was probably done by one of Parker's chaplains, Thomas Bickley, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. In addition to the Bishops there were the Dean of Westminster, Andrew Perne, Canon of Ely, and Andrew Pierson, a prebendary of Canterbury. The shares of the different revisers were marked by 'the lettres of their names affixed in the ende of their bookes, which I thought a polecie to showe them' (Parker wrote to Cecil, whom he had vainly tried to persuade to undertake an Epistle himself,) 'to make them more diligent, as awnswerable for their doinges'. The instructions to the revisers were not to depart from the Great Bible 'but when yt varieth manifestly from the Hebrue or Greke originall', to follow Pagninus and Münster, and 'to make no bitter notes vppon any text, or yet to set downe any determinacion in places of controuersie'. The book was very handsomely printed

1 Cor 11.8. 23 Then the man ſaid, * This now is bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh. She ſhalbe called * woman, becauſe ſhe was taken out of man.

*Or, Ms nere, be cauſe ſhe ys made of man, or taken out of hys ſide, &c. 24 * Therefore ſhal man leaue P his father and his mother, and ſhal cleaue to his wife, and they ſhalbe one fleſh.

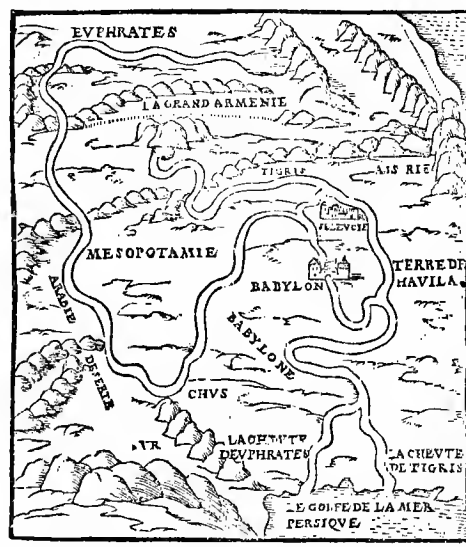
Mat.19.5. Mar.10.7. 1.Cor.6.16. ephe.5.31.

25 And they were bothe naked, the man & his wife, and were not q aſhamed.

P So that mariage requireth a greater duetie of vs to reuerence our parents.

q For before ſinne entred, all things were honeſt and comely.

THE SITVACION OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN.



La grand Armenie. Or, Armenia the great.

Terre de Hauilah. Or, land of Hauilah.

La chute d'Euphrates. Or, the fall of Euphrates. La chute de Tigris. Or, the fall of Tigris. Le golfe de la mer Perſique. Or, the gulfe of the Perſian ſea.

Becauſe mention is made in the tenth verſe of this ſeconde chapter of the riuer that watered the garden, we muſte note that Euphrates and Tygris called in Ebrewe, Perath and Hiddekel, were called but one riuer where they ioyned together, as they had ſure heades that is two at their ſprings, & two where they fell into the Perſian ſea. In this countrey and muſte pleaſant land Adam dwelt, and this was called Paradiſe that is, a garden of pleaſure, becauſe of the fruitfulnes and abundance thereof. And whereas it is ſaid that Tygris paſſeth the land of Hauilah, it is meant of Tygris, which in ſome countrey, as it paſſed by diuers places, was called by ſundry names, as ſome time Diglito, in other places Tygris, & of ſome Thaſin or Tigran. Like wiſe Euphrates towarde the countrey of Cuſh or Ethiopia, or Arabia was called Gihon. So that Tygris and Euphrates (which were but two riuers, and ſome time when they ioyned together, were called after one name) were according to diuers places called by theſe foure names, ſo that they might ſeme to haue beene foure diuers riuers.

CHAP. III.

1 *The woman ſeduced by the ſerpẽt, 6 Euiſeth her huſbãd to ſinne. 14 They three are puniſhed. 15 Chriſt is promiſed. 19 Man is duſt. 22 Man is caſt out of paradiſe.*

Wiſdo. 2.25. a Ye Sathã ſo chaunge him ſelf into an Angel of light, to deſtroy & abuſe the witnes of the ſerpent to deceaue man.

NOw a the ſerpent was more b ſubtil then anie beaſt of the field, which ỹ Lord God had made: and he b ſaid to the woman, Yea, hathe God in dede ſaid, Ye ſhal not eat of euerie tre of the garden?

b God ſuffered Satan to make the ſerpent his inſtrument: and to ſpeake in him. c In ſtanding of Gods threatning he yeldeth to Satan.

2 And the woman ſaid vnto the ſerpẽt, We eat of the frute of the trees of the garden,

3 But of the frute of the tre, which is in the middes of the garden, God hathe ſaid, Ye ſhal not eat of it, neither ſhal ye touche it, c leſt ye dye.

4 Then a the ſerpent ſaid to the woman, Ye ſhal not d dye at all,

5 But God doeth knowe, that when ye ſhal eat thereof, your eyes ſhalbe opened, & ye ſhalbe as gods, e knowing good and euil.

6 So the woman (ſeing that the tre was good for meat, and that it was pleaſant to the eyes, & a tre to be deſired to get knowledge) toke of the frute thereof, and did f eat, and gaue alſo to her houſband with her, and he f did eat.

7 Then the eyes of them bothe were opened, & they g knewe that they were naked, and they ſewed figtre leaues together, and made them ſelues h breeches.

8 ¶ Afterwarde they heard the voyce of

2 Cor.11.3. i This is Satans chiefeſt ſubtiltie, to cauſe vs not to beare Gods threatnings.

c Although he ſpeake lye, God doeth not forbid you to eat of the tre: but that he knowe it, that if you ſhulde eat thereof, you ſhulde be like to him.

Eccleſ.21,33. 2.Sam.2.14.

d Not to impeache to pleaſe his wife, & moued by ambition at her perſuaſion.

e They began to feele that miſerie, but they fight not to God for remedie

f Euen things to glorie about ihe ſo be yet ſinfull.

a.ii.

with a fine engraved title-page by Franciscus Hogenberg, bearing in the centre a portrait of Elizabeth, and with engraved portraits of two of her statesmen, Leicester and Cecil, prefixed respectively to the Book of Judges and the Psalms.

63. Second Folio Edition of the Bishops' Bible. Printed by Richard Jugge, 1572.

Some additional revision had been bestowed on the Old Testament in the quarto of 1569 and this is here reprinted with some further corrections in the New. In this edition the text of the Psalms in the Great Bible version, which had become familiar from its use in the Prayer-book, is printed in parallel columns with the revision. In subsequent editions, with the exception of the folio of 1585 (printed by special command of Archbishop Whitgift), the new version was omitted altogether.

ENGLISH EDITIONS OF THE GENEVA BIBLE.—THE RHEIMS AND DOUAI BIBLE.

Nos. 64–70.

Archbishop Parker died on May 17, 1575. By the ninth of the following month the monopoly of printing editions of the Bishops' Bible, which he had secured for Richard Jugge, was cut down so that it comprised only Bibles in quarto and New Testaments in sextodecimo, and Christopher Barker, a former servant of Sir Francis Walsingham, backed by the authority of seven members of the Privy Council, had entered the Geneva Bible as his copyright at Stationers' Hall. The first edition to appear was a New Testament printed for Barker by Thomas Vautrollier, this being followed by another New Testament dated 1575–6, printed by Barker himself, and by a complete Bible in 1576. In this year also Barker printed a new revision of the Testament, a direct translation from the Latin version of Théodore de Bèze made by Laurence Tomson, secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, which thenceforth frequently took the place of the Geneva version.

In August or September, 1577, Richard Jugge died, and Christopher Barker (buying out a Court nominee, Thomas Wilkes) obtained a patent of the office of Queen's Printer which was so drawn as to give him a complete monopoly of Bible-printing in England, with the right of seizing English Bibles imported from abroad. Aided by money advanced by various friends, including Sir Francis Walsingham, Barker now displayed great activity in printing Geneva Bibles, including two editions 'in the largest volume', intended for use in churches. The Bishops' Bible he severely neglected until called to account by Archbishop Whitgift, who made him produce a quarto Bible for use in poor churches in 1584 and a large folio in 1585. After this, for the remainder of the Queen's reign, folio editions of the Bishops' Bible were printed, as need arose, for use in Church, but for private use the Geneva version enjoyed a scarcely disturbed monopoly.

Meantime at Rheims there had appeared in 1582 the first Roman Catholic version of the New Testament, mainly the work of Gregory Martin, a member of the English College at Douay, which had then temporarily been transferred to Rheims. The Old Testament had been translated at the same time as the New, but owing to lack of

funds this was not printed until 1609. The New Testament was accompanied by highly controversial notes, and these with the text were several times reprinted in England with the refutations of the Rev. William Fulke, the version thus gaining a far wider influence than it would otherwise have had.

64. First English Edition of the Geneva New Testament. Printed by Thomas Vautrollier for Christopher Barker, 1575.

'The Newe Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ. Conferred with the Greke, and best approued translations. With the arguments, as wel before the chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle, Also diuersities of readings, and most profitable annotations of all harde places: whereunto is added a copious Table. Imprinted at London by T. V. for Christopher Barker. 1575.'

The title-page is surrounded by a woodcut border, bearing at the sides the crest (a tiger's head, which Barker also used as the sign of his shop) and arms of Barker's patron, Sir Francis Walsingham. Barker printed another edition of this New Testament at the turn of the years 1575-6, but at the moment of obtaining his licence to print the Geneva Bible he had apparently not equipped his printing-house, and therefore employed Vautrollier to print this edition for him. Vautrollier was a Frenchman who had been admitted to the Stationers' Company in 1564 and was one of the best printers of the day; in 1574 he had obtained a privilege for printing the Latin New Testament of Théodore de Bèze.

65. First English Edition of the Geneva Bible. Printed by Christopher Barker, 1576.

'The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrewe and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With most profitable annotations. . . . Imprinted at London by Christopher Barkar, dwelling in Powles Churchyard at the signe of the Tygers Head. 1576. Cum priuilegio.'

The woodcut on the general title-page and on that prefixed to the New Testament represents the passage of the Red Sea, as in the first edition of the Geneva Bible (see no. 61), and is accompanied by the same inspiriting texts.

66. First Edition of Tomson's translation of Beza's New Testament. Printed by Christopher Barker, 1576.

'The New Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ translated out of Greeke By Theod. Beza: Wherunto are adioyned brief Summaries of doctrine vpon the Euangelistes and Actes of the Apostles, together with the methode of the Epistles of the Apostles by the said Theod. Beza: And also short expositions on the phrases and hard places taken out of the large annotations of the foresaid Authour and Ioach. Camerarius, By P. Loseler. Villerius. Englished by L. Tomson. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barkar dwelling in Poules Churchyeard at the signe of the Tigres head. 1576. Cum privilegio.'

With a dedicatory epistle headed, 'To the Right Honorable M. Francis Walsingham Esquier, one of the principall Secretaries to hyr Excellent Maiestie, and of hir Highnesse priuie Councell: And to the right worshipfull M. Francis Hastings. L. T.

wysheth prosperitie in this lyfe and lyfe euerlasting, in Christ oure Sauiour.' Laurence Tomson, a former Fellow of Magdalen, and a member of Parliament, was Walsingham's secretary. Joachim Camerarius and Pierre L'Oyseleur, Seigneur de Villers, had each published an annotated New Testament in 1574.

67. First Edition of the Geneva Bible for use in Churches. Printed by Christopher Barker, 1578.

'The Bible. Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages. With most profitable Annotations. . . . Whereunto is added the Psalter of the common translation agreeing with the booke of Common prayer. . . . Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes Maiestie. Cum gratia & priuilegio.'

The use of the Bishops' Bible in churches having been enjoined only by the Convocation of Canterbury, not by the Privy Council, there was no legal obstacle to this attempt to put the Geneva Bible in its place. It is significant that in the Prayer-book printed with the present Geneva Bible the word Minister is substituted for Priest in the Communion office and elsewhere. Another Geneva Bible 'of the largest volume' was issued in 1583, but after Whitgift became Archbishop no more Geneva Bibles of this size were printed and Barker was compelled to issue editions of the Bishops' version as they were wanted, a quarto edition being printed in 1584 to meet the needs of Churches which could not afford a folio.

With respect to this Bible Barker issued a circular to the London City Companies offering to send copies for inspection in their halls, to sell to their members at the price of 24*s.* bound, or 20*s.* unbound, to allow credit till Candlemas, to give gratuities to the clerk and beadle, and to present a free copy to any Company whose members bought copies to the value of £40.

68. First Roman Catholic English Version of the New Testament. Printed at Rheims by John Fogny in 1582.

'The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages: With Arguments of bookes and chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the Corruptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the Controuersies in religion, of these daies. In the English College of Rhemes. [Quotations.] . . . Printed at Rhemes, by Iohn Fogny. Cum priuilegio.'

The need of this translation was forced on Cardinal Allen by his discovery that the Jesuit controversialists were exposed to a great disadvantage by having to translate Biblical quotations on the spur of the moment. The work of translation was entrusted to Gregory Martin, a former scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, who set to work in October, 1578, translated at the rate of two chapters a day, and finished his task in March, 1582. For lack of funds his version of the Old Testament was held back, but the New Testament appeared the same year, with a long and interesting preface which may have been written by Richard Bristow, the Moderator of the College, who with Allen himself had supervised the whole work. The translation was made on the principle advocated in 1542 by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, that tech-

nical words should be transliterated and explained in notes rather than represented by any imperfect equivalent, and although the version is thus often obscure, the theory was partly justified by many of these words being adopted by the revisers of 1611 and passing into the English language.

69. William Fulke's annotated Edition of the Rheims New Testament. Printed by the Deputies of Christopher Barker (for George Bishop) in 1589.

'The text of the New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes. With Arguments of Bookes, Chapters and Annotations, pretending to discouer the corruptions of diuers translations, and to cleare the controuersies of these dayes. Whereunto is added the translation out of the Original Greeke, commonly vsed in the Church of England. With a Confutation of all such Arguments, Glosses and Annotations, as containe manifest impietie, of heresie treason and slander against the Catholic Church of God and the true teachers thereof, or the Translations vsed in the Church of England: Both by auctoritie of the holy Scriptures, and by the testimonie of the ancient fathers. By William Fulke, Doctor in Diuinitie. Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. Anno 1589.'

In order the better to confute his adversaries, Dr. Fulke printed the entire text of the Rheims New Testament, answering and criticizing it point by point. Fulke was Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, but in order to see his book through the press he came to London and for nine months he and two servants and their horses were maintained by his publisher, George Bishop, who in addition paid him in cash £40. His work was reprinted in 1601, 1617, and 1633, and made the Rheims New Testament much better known than it would otherwise have been.

70. First Roman Catholic English Version of the Bible. Printed at Douay by Laurence Kellam, 1609–10.

'The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English out of the authentical Latin. Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke and other editions in diuers languages. With arguments of the Bookes and Chapters: Annotations: Tables: and other helpes for better vnderstanding of the text: for discouerie of Corruptions in some late translations: and for clearing Controversies in Religion. By the English College of Doway. . . . Printed at Doway by Laurence Kellam at the signe of the holie Lambe. M.DC.ix.'

The Old Testament only, completing the Catholic version; a second edition of the Rheims New Testament had been printed at Antwerp in 1600. The completion of the Bible was doubtless brought about by the knowledge that the English revision would soon be ready. The English Jesuit College, which had only temporarily been moved to Rheims in 1578, had now returned to its original home at Doway and the Old Testament was therefore printed there.

THE VERSION OF 1611.

Nos. 71–78.

After Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury no more Geneva Bibles 'of the largest volume' were printed for use in Church, and large folio editions of the Bishops' Bible were produced for this purpose as they were needed. But the Archbishop either could not or would not insist on editions of the Bishops' version being printed in sizes suitable for private use, and after a large and a small quarto in 1584 no complete Bishops' Bible in any size smaller than folio was printed. In 1588 Christopher Barker obtained a renewal of his patent as Queen's Printer with leave to exercise the office by deputy. Geneva Bibles and New Testaments for private ownership continued to be poured out by his Deputies, as previously by himself, in various convenient sizes, from small folio to 32mo, so that copies of these 'Breeches Bibles' as they are popularly called, from their reading in Genesis iii. 7, are among the commonest of old books. In or before 1595 a single Deputy began issuing octave New Testaments of the Bishops' version. Save for this concession, it would appear that only Bishops' Bibles could be bought for use in Church and only Geneva Bibles for private use. Even in Elizabeth's reign this anomalous division of the field inspired projects for a new translation, and at the informal conference at Hampton Court, held by James I, in January, 1604, to hear the views of the leaders of the Puritan party and the comments of the Bishops, a revision of the Bible was proposed by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, chief spokesman for the Puritans, accepted by the Bishops and taken up with enthusiasm by the King. On the spur of the moment the latter sketched out a plan for 'one uniforme translation, to bee done by the best learned in both the Universities, after them to be reviewed by the Bishops and the chiefe learned of the Church; from them to bee presented to the Privie Councell, and lastly to bee ratified by his Royall authoritie, and so the whole Church to be bound unto it and none other'. During the next six months 'certain learned men to the number of four and fifty' were invited to take part in the work, and the King interested himself, with only small success, in trying to obtain for them prebends or other ecclesiastical preferments to the annual value of at least £20. Six boards of translators were formed, two meeting at London, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge, and the members of these appear to have been chosen solely with regard to their attainments, irrespective of party. Owing to accidents and the need of preliminary private research, the boards do not appear to have got seriously to work before 1607, but by 1610 their task was done and the new version was handed over for final revision to a Committee, who met daily at Stationers' Hall during about three-quarters of a year, and were paid 30*s.* a week apiece for their expenses. The final touches were then added and the book sent to press by Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and the first edition, a very handsome folio, was ready for issue in 1611.

As regards the versions which the new revision superseded, no restrictions seem to have been imposed on their publication for some five or six years, and during this period Barker printed numerous editions of the Geneva Bible in various sizes, and also a few New Testaments of the Bishops' version. After this period of grace it seems

probable that some pressure was brought to bear upon Barker to secure a monopoly for the Version of 1611, and we find Dutch printers meeting such demand as still existed for the Geneva version by printing Bibles with the spurious imprint: London, Printed for the Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1599. As far as is known, the last edition of the Geneva Bible was printed at Amsterdam in 1644, and the fact that there was no revival of this version during the Presbyterian ascendancy shows that in the course of a generation the Version of 1611 had won complete acceptance from all classes of Englishmen.

71. First Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by Robert Barker.

The Holy Bible. Conteyning the Old Testament and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall Cõmandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom. 1611.'

Among the instructions given to the Translators were that the Bishops' Bible was to be followed and 'as little altered as the truth of the original will permit; the old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz., the word Church not to be translated Congregation, &c., no marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be express'd in the Text; such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another; these translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tindoll's, Matthews, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's [i.e. the Great Bible], Geneva'.

It will be observed that no mention is here made of the Rheims New Testament, which nevertheless exercised a very considerable influence on the revisers. Use was also made of the Latin versions of Arias Montanus (Old Testament only) and Tremellius, and of recent French, Italian, and Spanish versions. But despite all these helps and the very considerable learning of many of the revisers the translation remained substantially that of Tyndale and Coverdale, emended and improved, but only to a very small extent recast or rewritten.

The first edition of the new version is a handsome folio, with an engraved title-page by Cornelis Boel, a dedication to the King, and a long preface, headed 'The Translators to the Reader', written by Miles Smith, setting forth the ecclesiastical authority for vernacular translations, answering the imputations of Roman Catholic critics, and explaining the relation of the revised version to its predecessors and the plan on which it was made. Inserted among the preliminary matter are certain genealogies of Holy Scripture and a map of Canaan, made by John Speed, with the help of a well-known Hebraist, Hugh Broughton. These did not really belong to the book, but Speed had obtained a privilege from the King ordering that they should be inserted in all copies, entailing an addition of 2*s.* to the cost of the large folios, 1*s.* 6*d.* in the case of small folios, 1*s.* for quartos, and 6*d.* for octavos. The text of the Bible is printed in a large black letter, with the words inserted to complete the sense in small roman. The price of the book may have been as little as 25*s.* in quires, or 30*s.* bound, but as much as £2 18*s.* was paid for a copy, presumably handsomely bound, for cathedral use, and it is possible that the prices named were those of the cheaper folio edition of 1613 (see no. 75).

72. First Quarto Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by Robert Barker, 1612.

A close reprint of the folio of 1611, and printed in roman type.

73. First Octavo Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by Robert Barker, 1612.

Also a close reprint of the folio of 1611, and printed in roman type.

74. Second Folio Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by Robert Barker, partly in 1611, partly in 1613.

This second edition differs from that of 1611 on every leaf and there is no justification for speaking of it as a 'second issue' of that edition, a phrase which could only be used correctly of the original sheets of the first edition with a new title-page prefixed. These are not the original sheets, but reprints of them, in which some errors are corrected and other differences introduced. One of these differences is that in Ruth iii. 15 the verse ends 'And she went into the city', whereas in the 1611 edition it ends 'And he went into the city', and a custom has grown up of speaking of that as the 'Great He Bible' and of this as the 'Great She Bible', but it seems simpler to call them respectively the First and Second folio edition. In subsequent reprints the readings of the Second edition were mostly followed.

Owing probably to an accident in the printing-office by which a large quantity of the stock of about one-third of the sheets of this edition was destroyed, these sheets had to be reprinted, and the sheets as originally printed and as reprinted are found in many different combinations.

75. Third Folio Edition of the Version of 1611. In smaller type. Printed by Robert Barker, 1613.

Instead of only 59 lines to a column, this edition has 72, and by this increased number of lines and a reduction in the width as well as the height of the type the book contains only 508 leaves instead of 732. No doubt this was done to meet the needs of churches which could not afford the larger edition.

76. Fourth Folio Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by Robert Barker, 1617.

This is the third folio edition of the largest size. Two copies of it are known with title-pages dated 1614. No further edition of this size was issued until 1634, and this must therefore be taken as completing the supply necessary to enable every parish in England to obtain a copy, in addition to any copies that may have been sold for other purposes. It is thus possible that each of these four editions consisted of as many as 5,000 copies. The three editions of 1611, 1611–1613, 1614–1617, are so printed that the corresponding sheets in each contain exactly the same amount of the text. Sheets from one of the three editions could thus be used to supply deficiencies in either of the others, and this mixture, with the double printing of part of the 1611–1613 edition, has caused some confusion. But the three large-type folios of 732 leaves

and one smaller-type folio of 508 leaves are essentially distinct, however much leaves may be found mixed in individual copies.

77. Geneva Bible. Printed in Holland after 1611, with the false imprint, London, 1599.

The imprint on the title-page reads: 'Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most Excellent Maiestie. 1599'; that on the New Testament, 'Imprinted at Amsterdam, for Thomas Crafoorth. By Iohn Frederickse Stam, dwelling by the South-Church, at the signe of the Hope. 1633.'

This used to be considered a 'made-up copy', composed of parts of two different editions, but it is more probably only one of the Amsterdam reprints with an accidentally truthful imprint to the New Testament.

78. The last Geneva Bible. Printed at Amsterdam in 1644.

'The Bible: That is, The Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Hebrew and Greek, and conferred with the best Translations in divers Languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance. [Quotation.] Amsterdam. Printed by Thomas Stafford: And are to be sold at his house, at the signe of the Flight of Brabant, upon the Milk-market, over against the Deventer Wood-market. MDCXLIV. According to the Copy printed at Edinburgh by Andro Hart, in the year 1610.'

This last Geneva Bible is a close reprint of one issued from the same press in 1640. The fact that both these Bibles specify the much earlier Edinburgh edition in accordance with which they were printed, suggests an alternative explanation for the 1599 imprint in other Dutch editions of the Geneva Bibles, viz. that it was merely intended to show the edition whose text it followed. But it is more probable that this object was combined with a desire to secure for them an unimpeded sale.

LATER EDITIONS OF THE VERSION OF 1611.

Nos. 79–87.

In the course of the interminable lawsuits connected with the office of King's Printer and the disputes about Bible-printing in the seventeenth century, references have been found to the original manuscript of the Version of 1611, which is said to have cost Robert Barker £3,000 or £3,500, though to whom this sum was paid remains unexplained. But there was no standard copy of the new version analogous to the 'sealed' copy of the Book of Common Prayer, and the text on the one hand was exposed to constant corruption by the carelessness of printers, and, on the other, was subjected to several minor revisions by the scholars of the two Universities. The most famous example of corruption by careless printing was the 'Wicked Bible' of 1631 with its omission of the word *not* in the Seventh Commandment. Of the revisions the first was undertaken in connexion with the first Cambridge edition, in 1629, and this was carried much further in another edition, nine years later. Other minor revisions were those of Thomas Paris for a Cambridge edition of 1762, and an Oxford one, by

Benjamin Blayney, in 1769. In 1833 the Oxford University Press, to allay some doubts which had been raised, produced a careful reprint of the original edition of 1611, with all its faults, and thus showed that the changes which had been introduced were almost exclusively of a kind necessitated by the modern system of punctuation and the more consistent use of italics for supplementary words.

79. First Cambridge Edition of the Version of 1611. Printed by T. and J. Buck, printers to the University, in 1629.

This Cambridge edition was revised for the Press by Dr. Samuel Ward, of Sidney Sussex, one of the original revisers of 1611. When put on the market at 10*s*., which was 2*s*. cheaper than the London price for small folios, it was itself vigorously undersold by the King's Printers, but without the desired effect of causing the University Press to forgo Bible-printing.

80. The 'Wicked' Bible. Printed at London by Robert Barker and the Assigns of John Bill. 1631.

For printing the Seventh Commandment in this edition in the form, 'Thou shalt commit adultery', the printers were fined £300 and the whole impression was called in.

81. The Cambridge Revision of 1638. Printed by Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, printers to the University.

In this second Cambridge folio the revision of the text was undertaken by Dean Boys, Dr. Goad, Dr. Joseph Mede, and Dr. Samuel Ward, and not only were misprints removed and the use of italics made more uniform, but changes were made in the translation, in some cases of some doctrinal importance.

82. The Version of 1611 with the notes of the Geneva Version. Printed at Amsterdam by Joost Broerss in 1642–3.

On the title-page it is said of the Annotations that they 'have never before been set forth with this new translation; But are now placed in due order with great care and industrie'. That the text of the Geneva version should thus be abandoned, while an attempt was made to revive the popularity of its notes, offers striking evidence of the general acceptance which the Version of 1611 had by this time attained.

83. Another 'Wicked' Bible. Printed at London by J. Field in 1653.

This pocket Bible is even more incorrectly printed than Barker's edition of 1631. Among other errors it reads, in 1 Corinthians vi. 9, 'Know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the Kingdom of God' for 'shall not inherit'.

84. The 'Vinegar' Bible. Printed at Oxford by John Baskett in 1716–17.

This handsome edition, with its engraved plates and initial-letters, was so incorrectly printed that it was called from the name of its printer, the 'Basket-full of Errors.' Its

nickname, the 'Vinegar' Bible, was caused by the misprint 'The parable of the vinegar' (for 'The parable of the vineyard') in the headline to Luke xx. The early record of Oxford as regards Bible-printing offers a striking contrast to its modern developments. For many years the University Press was content to forgo its right to print Bibles, in consideration of a money payment, the first Oxford Bible only appearing in 1673–1675, when the Press had been aroused to activity by Bishop Fell. For some time after this its chief aim seems to have been to produce handsome editions. This copy was presented to King George II by Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1756.

85. Dr. Paris's Revision. Printed at Cambridge by J. Bentham in 1762.

In this quarto edition prepared for the Cambridge University Press, Dr. Thomas Paris, of Trinity College, introduced systematic modern spelling and punctuation into the text of the Bible, and extended the use of italics. At the same time the number of marginal notes was increased.

86. Dr. Blayney's Revision. Printed at Oxford by T. Wright and W. Gill, in 1769.

Dr. Benjamin Blayney, of Hertford College, took over most of the improvements of Dr. Paris and extended them. His own edition, unfortunately, contained an unusual number of printers' errors.

87. The Oxford Reprint of the Edition of 1611. Printed by S. Collingwood and Co. at the University Press in 1833.

In a four-page pamphlet issued with this edition it is stated that, 'Complaints having been made that the English Bibles printed at the Universities, besides necessary alterations in the spelling, differed greatly from the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, and a committee of Dissenting Ministers having addressed a letter on the subject to the Vice-Chancellor, bearing date London, April 2, 1832, the Delegates of the Press took the most effectual method for enabling themselves and others to judge how far these complaints were well-founded. They commenced an exact Reprint in Roman Letter of the original Edition of King James printed in the year 1611, and were able to complete and publish it in the month of November, 1833, having previously issued the Book of Genesis as a specimen.'

SECTION III

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

88. Edward Lee, the King's Almoner and Ambassador to Spain (Archbishop of York in 1531), to Henry VIII, with reference to Tyndale's version of the New Testament.

'Please it your Highnesse morover to vndrestond that I ame certainlie enformed as I passed in this contree [France] that an Englishman your subiect at the sollicitation and instaunce of Luther, with whome he is, hathe translated the Newe Testament in to Englishe, and within four dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in Englond. I neede not to advertise your Grace what infection and daunger maye ensue heerbie, if it bee not withstonded. This is the next waye to fulfill your realme with Lutherians, ffor all Luthers peruerse opinions bee grownded opon bare wordes of Scripture not well taken ne vndrestonded, wiche your Grace hathe opened in sondrie places of your royall booke. All our forfadres gouernours of the chirche of Englond hathe with all diligence forbed and exchued publication of Englishe Bibles, as apperethe in constitutions prouinciall of the chirche of Englond. . . . Hidretoo, blessed bee God, your realme is save from infection of Luthers sort, as for so mutche that althow anye peradventure bee secretlie blotted within, yet for feare of your royall Maiestie, wiche hathe drawen his swerd in Godes cawse, they dare not openlie avowe,' etc. Dated [Bordeaux], 2 Dec. [1525]. [Cotton MS. Vespasian C. iii, f. 211 b.]

89. Richard Nykke or Nix, Bishop of Norwich, to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, in reply to his request for subscriptions to defray the cost of buying copies of Tyndale's New Testament (1525) for burning.

'I lately receyued your letters dated at your Manour of Lambethe the xxvi daie of the monethe of Maij, by the whiche I do perceyue that youre Grace hath lately goten into your handes all the bokes of the Newe Testamente translated into Englesshe and pryented beyonde the see, aswele those with the gloses ioyned vnto theym as thoder withoute the gloses, by meanes of exchaunge by you made therfore to the somme of lxvi*l.* ix*s.* iiij*d.* Surely in myne opynion you haue done therin a graciouse and a blessed dede, and God, I doubt not, shall highly rewarde you therfore. And where in your said letters ye write, that in so moche as this mater . . . shulde not only haue towched you but all the Busshoppes within your province . . . and for that entente desire me to certifie you what conuenyent somme I for my parte wulbe contented to avaunce in this behalue . . . Pleaseth it you tundrestande that I am right wele contented to yeue and avaunce in this behalue ten markes . . . the which somme I thinke sufficient for my parte if euery Busshopp within your said provynce make like contribution and avauncemente after the rate and substance of their benifices.' Dated, Hoxne in Suffolk, 14 June, 1527. [Cotton MS. Vitellius B. ix, f. 131.]

90. Robert Ridley, priest, uncle of Nicholas Ridley, later Bishop of Rochester and London, to Henry Golde, chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on 'this common and vulgare translation of the New Testament in to Englishe, doon by M. William Hichyns, otherwais called M. W. Tyndale, and frear William Roy, manifest Lutheranes heretikes and apostates', i. e. Tyndale's version, 1525.

He declares that the heresy of the translators is proved by their commentaries, etc., 'al togither most posoned (*sic*) and abhominable hereses that can be thowht; he is not *filius ecclesie christi* that wold receaue a godspell of such damned and prccised hcretikes, thowh it wer trew'. He proceeds to give instances of heretical doctrine, and continues, 'As for the texte of the godspell, first the title is hereticall, saying that it is prent as it was writen by the evangelistes'. Instances of mistranslation are given; 'by this translation shal we losse al thies cristian wordes, penance, charite, confession, grace, prest, chirch, which he alway calleth a congregation. . . . As for the translation in Franche withowt any postille it is for certane condemned in Parys *decreto publico*, thow it be trewly doon, condemned I say, that it shal not be lawfull to publishe it to euery layman, bot by prestes. . . . I certify you if ye look well, ye shall not look iij lynes withowt fawt in al the bowk.' [1528.] With postscript, dated February 24, giving fresh instances of mistranslation, and adding, 'Shew ye to the people that, if any be of so prowde and stuburne stomac that he will beleve ther is no fawt ne errour except it be declared to hym, that he may se it, latt hym cum hither to my Lord, which hath profowndly examined al and he shal heir and se errours except that he be blynde and haue no eys'. In a second postscript the writer states, 'ye shal not neede to accuse this translation, it is accused and damned by the consent of the prelates and learned men, and commanded to be brynt both heir and beyonde the see, wher is many hundreth of tham brynt, so that it is to layt now to ask reson why that be condemned, and which be the fawtes and errours'. [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 392 b.]

91. Copy of petition by Humphrey Monmouth, of London, draper, imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of Lollardism, to Cardinal Wolsey and the Council. One of the chief charges against him was his friendship with William Tyndale, and he writes:—

'opon iiij yeres and a half past and more I herde the forsaid Sir William [Tyndale] preache ij or iij sermondes at St. Donstones in the Weste in London, and after that I chaunced to meete with him and with comunycation I examyned him what lyvinge he had; he said he had none at all, but he trusted to be with my Lord of London in his service, and therfore I had the better fantasye to him. And afterward he went to my Lorde and spake with him, as he tolde me, and my Lorde of London answered him that he had chaplaines inoughe, and he said to him that the (*sic*) would haue no more at that tyme, and so the priest came to me againe, and besought me to helpe him and so I tooke him into my howse half a yere, and there he lived lyke a good priest as me thought. He studyed moste parte of the daie and of the night at his booke, and he woulde eat but sodden meate by his good will nor

drinke but small single bere. I never sawe him were lynen about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him x*l.* sterlinge to praie for my father and mother there sowles, and all Christen sowles. I did paie yt him when he made his exchang to Hamborow [Hamburg], and afterward he got of some other men x*l.* sterling more, the which he lefte with me, and within a yere after, he sent for his ten poundes to me from Hamborowe . . ., and since I never sent him the valew of one penny nor never will.' He speaks of certain books in his possession, which had been shown to various people and with which no one had found much fault. 'When I hard my Lord of London preach at Pawles crosse that Sir William Tindall had translated the New Testament in Englishe, and was noughtelie translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knewe any evill by him, and shortly after all the letters and treatyes that he sent me with dyvers copies of bookes that my servant did write, and the sermondes that the priest did make at St. Dunstones I did burne them in my howse.' Dated, 19 May, 20 Henry VIII [1528]. [Harl. MS. 425, ff. 10–12 b.]

92. Remark of Thomas Lawney on the reply of John Stokesley, Bishop of London, to Cranmer's order to him to revise a translation of the Acts of the Apostles, this being his share in a proposed revision of the Bible by the Bishops, approved by Convocation in December, 1534.

'My Lorde of Canterbury wrotē to the Bisshopp letters for his parte . . . Bisshopp Stokesley . . . made this answer, "I mervaile what my Lorde of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people in gyving them libertie to reade the Scriptures, which doith nothing els but infecte them with heryses. I haue bestowed neuer an hower opon my portion nor neuer will. And therfore my Lorde shall haue his boke againe, for I will neuer be gyltie to bring the symple people into errour" . . . Mr. Lawney stode by hearyng my Lorde [of Canterbury] speake somoche of the Bisshopps vntowardnes, saied, "I can tell your Grace whie my Lorde of London will not bestowe any labour or payne this wey. Your Grace knoweth well (quod Lawney) that his portion ys a pece of Newe Testament, and than he being persuaded that Christe had bequeth hym nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madnes to bestowe any labour or payne where no gayne was to be gotten, and besides this it ys The Actes of the Apostells, whiche were symple poore felowes, and therfore my Lord of London disdayned to haue to do with any of thair Actes." ' [1535.] [Harl. MS. 422, f. 87 b.]

93. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to [Thomas Cromwell], thanking him—

'that your Lordeship at my requeste hath not only exhibited the Bible [the translation of 1537, known as Matthew's Bible] which I sent vnto you, to the kinges Maiestie, but also hath obteigned of his Grace that the same shalbe alowed by his auctoritie to be bowghte and redde within this realme. My Lorde, for this your payne taken in this bihalf I giue vnto you my most hartie thankes, assuryng your Lordeship for the contentacion of my mynde, you haue shewid me more pleasour herin, than yf you hadd giuen me a thowsande pownde.' Dated, Ford, 13 Aug. [1537]. Signed, 'Your own bowndman euer T. Cantuarien.' [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 348.]

94. Richard Grafton, grocer, to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, sending, at his request, six copies of his edition (1537) of Matthew's Bible—

'which gladly I wolde haue brought my selfe, but because of the sycknes which remayneth in the cytie. And therfore I haue sent them by my seruaunt which this daye came out of Flaundyrs, requyrynge your Lordship, yf I maye be so bolde, as to desyer you to accept them as my symple gyfte, geuen to you for those most godly paynes, for which the heuenly Father is bounde euen of his justice to reward you with the euerlastynge kyngdom of God. For your Lordship, mouynge our moost gracyous prynce to the alowance and lycensynge of soche a worke, hath worought (*sic*) soche an acte worthy of prayse as neuer was mencyoned in any cronycle in this realme. And as my Lorde of Canterbury sayde, the tydynges therof dyd hym more good then the gyfte of ten thousand pounde.' Since there are some who do not believe that he has received the king's licence, he asks for a licence under the privy seal. He is sure this will please my Lords of Canterbury, Worcester, and Salisbury, and asks for a reply by his servant. Dated, London, 28 Aug., 1537. [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 349.]

95. Petition from Richard Grafton to [Thomas Cromwell], forwarding copies of his edition of Matthew's Bible (1537) asked for by the latter, and requesting that others may be prohibited from printing the Bible till he has sold out his edition.

'For as moche as this worke hath bene brought forthe to our moost great and costly laboures and charges, which charges amount aboue the some of v c li. (£500), and I haue caused of these same to be prynted to the some of xv c (1500) booked complete, which now by reason that of many this worke is highly comm[en]ded, there are that will and dothe go about the pryntynge of the same worke agayne in a lesser letter, to the entent that they maye sell their lytle bookes better chepe then I can sell these gret . . . And yet shall they not do yt as they fynde yt, but falsefye the texte, that I dare saye, looke how many sentences are in the Byble, euen s[o] many fautes and errours shalbe made therin.' He speaks of 'the former Bybles that they haue set forthe, which hath nethe[r] good paper, letter, ynke ner correccyoun', and declares that 'douchemen (Dutchmen) dwellynge within this realme go about the pryntynge of ytt, which can nether speke good Englyshe, ner yet wryte none, and they wilbe bothe the prynters and correctours therof, because of a lytle couetousnes that wyll not bestowe xx or xl li. to a learned man to take payne in yt to haue yt well done'. He therefore prays for 'the kynges moost gracyous priuiledge that none shall prynt them tyll these be solde, which at the least shall not be this iij yere . . . Or elles yf by no meanes this pryuyledge maye be had . . . yt maye therfore be commaunded by your Lordship in the name of our most gracyous prynce that euery curat haue one of them, that they maye learne to knowe God and to instruct their parysshens; ye [yea] and that euery abbaye shuld haue vi to be layde in vi seuerall places that the whole couent and the resorters thervnto maye haue occasyon to looke on the Lordes lawe. Ye, I wold none other but they of the papisticall sorte shuld be compelled to haue them.' Dated, [end of August ?] 1537. [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 340.]

96. Copy of licence from Francis I of France, at the request of Henry VIII, to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, Englishmen and citizens of London, to print the Bible [so-called 'Great Bible'], both in Latin and English, at Paris, and to convey their editions to England. *Latin.* [1538.] [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 343.]

97. Declaration to be read by all curates concerning the reading of the Scriptures.

'You shall haue allwayes in your rememberaunce and memoryes that all thinges conteyned in this booke is the vndoubted wyll, lawe and commaundement of Almightie God, thonely and streight meane to knowe the goodnes and benefytes of God towardes vs and the true dieutye of euery christien man to serue him accordingly, and that therefore reading this booke with suche mynde and firme feythe as is aforesaid, you shall first endeuour yourselfes to conformc your owine lyvinges and conuersacion to the contentes of the same, and so by your good and vertuouse exemple to encourage your wifes children and seruauntes to lyve wel and christienly according to the rule thereof. And if at any tyme by reading any doubt shall come to any of you touching the sense and meanyng of any parte thereof, That thenne not geving to moche to your owne myndes fantazies and opinions, nor having thereof any open reasonyng in your open Tauernes or Alehowses, ye shall haue recourse to suche lerned men as be or shalbe auctorised to preache and declare the same, soo that avoyding all contentions and disputacions in suche Alehowses and other places vnmete for suche conferences and submytting your opinions to the judgementes of suche lerned men as shalbe appoynted in this behaulf, his Grace may wel perceyue that you vse this most hiegh benefyte quietly and charitably euery of you to the edefying of himself his wief and famylye in al thinges.' [1538.] [Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. v, f. 344.]

98. Miles Coverdale to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, concerning his 'Great Bible' (partly printed at Paris, published 1539), and alluding to the decision of the French government to suppress the work (citation issued 17 Dec. 1538).

'I humbly beseche youre Lordshippe, that by my Lorde electe of Herdforde [Edmund Bonner, Bishop-elect of Hereford] I maye knowe youre pleasure, concernyng the Annotacions of this Byble, whether I shall proceade therin, or no. Pitie it were, that the darck places of the text (vpon the which I haue allwaye set a hande ☞) shulde so passe vndeclared. As for anye pryuate opynion or contencious wordes, as I wyll utterly avoyde all soche, so wyll I offre the annotacions first to my sayde Lord of Herdforde, to the intent that he shall so examen the same, afore they be put in prynte, yf it be your Lordshippes good pleasure that I shall so do. As concernyng the New Testamentes in English and Latyn . . . I besech your Lordshippe to consydre the grenesse therof, which (for lack of tymc) can not as yet be so apte to be bounde as it shulde be. And where as my sayde Lord of Hardforde is so good vnto us as to convaye thus moch of the Byble to your good Lordshippe, I humbly beseche the same

to be the defender and keper therof, to the intent that, yf these men proceade in their cruelnesse agaynst us and confiscate the rest, yet this at the leest maye be safe by the meanes of youre Lordshippe . . . Written somwhat hastely, at Parys the xiij daye of Decembre' [1538]. [Harl. MS. 604, f. 112.]

99. Charles Marillac, French Ambassador to Henry VIII, to Anne de Montmorency, Grand Master and Constable of France; with a postscript referring to Cromwell's request for the return of copies of the 'Great Bible' partly printed at Paris by licence of Francis I but afterwards prohibited and confiscated.

'Monsegneur, le segneur Cramoil qui a le maniement de tous les affaires de ce Royaulme ma prie et Requiz vous supplyer tres affectueusement de sa parte de luy faire deliurer certaines bibles en Angloys qui furent Imprimees a Paris, soffrant en cas pareil a faire tout ce quil vous plaira luy commander et soy disant vostre tres humble seruiteur, a quoy Je nay fait aulcune Responce sinon que Je le vous escrirois.' Dated, London, 1 May, 1539. [Add. MS. 33514, f. 18 b.]

100. Narrative given to John Foxe, author of the *Book of Martyrs,* by W. Maldon of Newington, of his ill-treatment by his father in the time of Henry VIII for reading the Bible and for speaking against the Crucifix; with remarks illustrating the enthusiasm for Bible reading at that time.

'As I fynde by the brefe crovnakill [chronicle] that the Bibill of the sacred chryptevres [Scriptures] was set forthe to bee rede in all chvrchis in Ingelande, by the late worthy kynge Henry the viijth [*in the margin* then was I about a. xv. yeres of age], and imedyately after dyueres poore men in the towne of Chelmysford in the county of Essyx, where my father dwellyd and I borne and with hym brovght vp, the sayd poore men bought the Newe Testament of Jesus Chryst and on Svndayes dyd syt redyng in lower ende of the chvrche, and manye wolde floke abovte them to here theyr redyng; then I cam amonge the sayd reders to here them redyng of that glade and swete tydynges of the Gospell; then my father seyng this that I lestened vnto them euery Svndaye, then cam he and sovght me amonge them, and brovght me awaye from the heryng of them, and wold have me to saye the Lattyn mattyns with hym, the which greued me very mych, and thvs dyd fete me awaye dyueres tymes; then I see I covlde not be in reste, then thovght I, I will learne to read Engelyshe, and then will I have the Newe Testament and read theron myselfe, and then had I larned of an Engelyshe prymmer as fare as *patris sapyentia* and then on Svndayes I plyed my Engelyshe prymmer. The mayetyd follovyng I and my fathers prentys, Thomas Jeffary, layed our mony together, and bought the Newe Testament in Engelyshe, and hydde it in our bedestrawe.' [Harl. MS. 590, f. 77.]

101. Copy of licence from Queen Elizabeth to William Salisbury, of Llanrwst, gentleman, and John Waley, of London, printer,

'to print reprint vttre sell or cause to be printed reprinted vttered and solde all the bookes of thole Byble or anye parte thereof,' with the Book of Common Prayer, the

Book of Homilies, and any commentaries on the Scriptures in *Welsh*. [1563.] [Lansd. MS. 48, f. 175.]

102. Matthew [Parker], Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund [Grindal], Bishop of London, to Sir William Cecil, to extend the licence of John Bodleygh 'for the reimprinting of the late Geneva Bible by him and his associates' for twelve years longer term.

'For thoughe one other speciall Bible for the churches be meant by vs to be set forthe as convenient tyme and leysour hereafter will permytte, yet shall it nothing hindre but rather do moche good to have diversitie of translacions and readinges.' Dated, Lambeth, 19 March, 1565 [6]. [Lansd. MS. 8, f. 205.]

103. Complaint of the Printers and Stationers against the injury caused to their trade by the grant by Queen Elizabeth of privileges to private persons. Among others is:—

'John Jugge, besides the beinge her Majestie's printer, hathe gotten the Priuilidge for the printing of Bibles and Testamentes, the which was common to all the printers.' 1577. [Lansd. MS. 48, f. 180.]

104. Statement by Christopher Barker, the Queen's printer, as to the state of the Stationers' Company.

'The Paraphrasis of Erasmus vpon the Epistles and Gospells, with the booke of Homilies, I offer to as many as will print them, geving me good assuraunce for the true imprinting thereof, that I may be blamelesse. Testamentes alone are not greatly commodious, by reason the prices are so small, as will scarely (*sic*) beare the charges. The whole Bible together requireth so great a somme of money to be employed in the imprinting thereof, as Mr. Jugge kept the Realme twelve yere withoute, before he durst adventure to print one impression: but I, considering the great somme I paide to Mr. Wilkes, did (as some haue termed it since) gyve a desperate adventure to imprint fower sundry impressions for all ages, wherein I employed to the value of three thowsande pounde, in the terme of one yere and an halfe, or thereaboute.' 1582. [Lansd. MS. 48, f. 190 b.]

105. Hugh Broughton to Sir William Cecil [Lord Burghley], regarding his proposed translation of the Bible.

'Sundry Lordes, (right honorable), and amongest them some byshops, besides doctours, and other inferiour of all sort, haue requested or wished me to bestowe my longue studies in *Ebrewe* and *Greke* writers vpon some clearinge of the Bibles translation. They iudged rightly that amended it must be. . . . And furthermore I thought good my self to make motion to such as I held worthiest and fittest to be contributours to the charges. . . . And your Lordship I held one of the worthiest to be a contributer for the maintenance of some six (of vs) the longest studentes in the tongues to ioyne together, as well not to alter any thinge which may stand still (as in *Moses* and all the stories, not much nedeth amendement) as to omitte nothinge which carieth open

vntruth against story and religion, or darknes disanullinge the writer. In which kind *Job*, and the prophetes may be brought to speake far better vnto vs. And all may haue short notes of large vse, with mappes of geography and tables of chronicle. To this, yf it please your Lordship to be a ready helper, your example will stir others to a more nedefull matter then was the amendement of the temple in kinge *Joas* tyme.' [21 June, 1593.] [Lansd. MS. 75, f. 8.]

106. Hugh Broughton to Lord Burghley, blaming Archbishop Whitgift for opposing his proposed new translation of the Bible.

'My Lords Grace putteth me to hard choyse, ether to take grosser iniuries then any the vilest wold, or to call his Grace into triall and see whether an Archbishop and an High Counseller must take a foyle: or the trueth and right, which the Quenes oth, all the realme and world will defend. . . . I am hartely sory, that your Lordships word can be crost by one prelat, and that the Quenes Highness for recompencinge my studies must leane vpon the read of his Graces likinge; whom when I checke with the greatest bitternes, but iustly, then he promiseth to doe any good; yf I write gently, he eateth his wordes. . . . The Skottes offre me more vpon the sight of one epistle printed to the Quene hindred by his Grace then ever I had or looked to haue in England. And I feare I must goe to them; yet, though his Grace extremely forgetteth lerninge, humanity, and comon witt, raginge for beinge commended, I will delay Scotland till after Franckfurt mart, and leaue the cure of his Grace to the gentry of England, which wold not for 100000*l*, that not we but Scotland should haue first a Bible by a linguist.' Dated, 11 June, 1597. [Lansd. MS. 85, f. 26.]

107. Draft of 'An act for the reducinge of diversities of Bibles now extant in the Englishe tongue to one setled vulgar translated from the originall';

to compel students of both Universities to assist in the work. The reason is stated to be 'for avoydinge of the multiplicitie of errors, that are rashly conceaved by the inferiour and vulgar sorte by the varietie of the translacions of Bibles to the most daungerous increase of Papistrie and Atheisme'. Time of Elizabeth. [Add. MS. 34729, f. 75 b.]